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COMMUNITY CONFLICT RELATED TO SCHOOL DISTRICT REORGANIZATION.
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NORMATIVE SOCIAL AND CULTURAL FACTORS RELATING TO THE PROCESS OF SCHOOL REDISTRICTING AND CONSOLIDATION WERE IDENTIFIED AND DESCRIBED, AND SOME OF THE INTERRELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN THESE FACTORS DETERMINED. SUCH DATA COULD BE USED DURING A SCHOOL DISTRICT REORGANIZATION PROCESS BY BOTH EDUCATORS AND ADMINISTRATORS TO MINIMIZE TENSION AND MITIGATE THE MORE SERIOUS EFFECTS OF SCHOOL-COMMUNITY CONFLICT RELATED TO THAT PROCESS. A CROSS-CULTURAL APPROACH WAS USED BY COMPARING PUBLISHED REPORTS OF REORGANIZATION CASES IN AMERICAN COMMUNITIES WITH THE FINDINGS FROM A NORWEGIAN TOWN. PROCEDURES CONSISTED OF THE APPLICATION OF SURVEY TECHNIQUES, SCALE-BUILDING, AND PROBABILITY STATISTICS AS SUBORDINATE METHODS WITH A COMMUNITY STUDY APPROACH. SOCIOLOGICAL ANALYSIS AND CONCEPTS WERE APPLIED TO THE PROBLEM TO EVOLVE A THEORETICAL STATEMENT OF INTERRELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN CRUCIAL FACTORS INVOLVED. THE FINDINGS SUGGESTED THAT CERTAIN FACTORS COMBINE IN VARIOUS WAYS TO PRODUCE WHAT APPEAR TO BE THE PRIMARY COMPONENTS OF SCHOOL CONSOLIDATION CONFLICT--(1) PRIMARY COMMUNITY SOLIDARITY AND COMMITMENT, (2) SECURITY THREATS, AND (3) INSTITUTIONAL DISCONTINUITIES. A THEORETICAL EXPLANATION WAS PROVIDED FOR THE SUBJECT CONFLICT IN TERMS OF ECOLOGICAL, PSYCHOLOGICAL, IDEALOGICAL, AND SOCIAL STRUCTURAL CONCEPTS, WHICH WOULD APPLY TO BOTH COUNTRIES STUDIED. (JH)

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COMMUNITY CONFLICT RELATED TO SCHOOL DISTRICT REORGANIZATION

Cooperative Research Project No. S-079

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Christen T. Jonassen

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I. INTRODUCTION

The tension in the hall was reflected in the face and bearing of the man who was speaking. His ruddy weathered face was grim, and his work-hardened hands shook just a little as he cried out to the audience, "Fight we must as long as we have a drop of blood left -- fight for all you hold dear -- die if necessary..."[1]

These were strong words projected by deep emotions of a man who, like most Norwegians, seldom shows his emotions or engages in dramatics. But it was not only one man who was deeply affected and completely involved; the whole town of Hofmoen was disturbed. Another man complained, "The community is greatly agitated. People telephone and talk; I get no peace day or night and have been subjected to many unpleasantnesses."[2] And another exclaimed, "There is an extraordinarily agitated atmosphere in town."

The conflict in Nordre Høland dominated local news and conversation and was of interest elsewhere, with the papers of the nation's capital city carrying accounts in their columns. Conflict is always dramatic but this one touched exposed nerves of people in hundreds of other little towns in Norway and pressed on a historically chronic sore spot in the Norwegian body politic--the lingering hostility between rural and urban ways of life, between the culture of Bondesamfunnet and that of the city.

Furthermore it was dramatic, for it was a direct defiance of authority by a people who have great respect for authority. In fact, 83 per cent of the very people who were defying authority agreed to the statement: "Obedience and respect for authority are the most important verities children should learn," 12 per cent did not know and only two per cent disagreed with the statement. Thus the "agitated" state of Hofmoen was no doubt a result of their dilemmna in feeling that they, in this instance, had to defy authority to achieve what they considered to be a more precious good.

What was the fight all about? The educational authorities of the Norwegian government had decided that the small two-room school of Hofmoen was inadequate for a modern education and would therefore have to be discontinued and the children transferred to a neighboring town. The people of Hofmoen said, "No! If you do this there will be a school strike."

Why study conflict? The advantages of analyzing the social process of conflict is well stated by Warner[3]:

> The best of all possible moments to achieve insight into the life of a human being is during a fundamental crisis when he is faced with grave decisions which can mean ruin and despair or success and happiness for him. In such crises men reveal what they are and often betray their innermost secrets in a way they never do and never can when life moves placidly and easily. If this is true for

> the study of men as individuals, it applied even more forcefully to the study of men in groups. It is when hell breaks loose and all men do their worst and best that the powerful forces which organize and control human society are revealed.

Why study conflict in a community? Since we were interested in cross-cultural comparisons we required a universal unit of social organization. Communities are instrumentalities, transmitters of culture from one generation to another, and mediators between the society and the individual, for it is in communities that the individual experiences his culture and comes to terms with it. It is, therefore, the unit of social organization within which one can expect to find all the necessary factors in terms of which the phenomenon can be investigated and explained.

Why study conflict related to school district reorganization? This is a type of conflict which has occurred and is going on in thousands of communities in the United States and elsewhere and many studies are available for comparison. Furthermore, it is an event which, if understood, can throw light on both practical problems of public administration and problems in the theory of social behavior.

Why study a small community in Norway? From the persepctive of the sophisticated internationalist or metropolite it might be considered to be an insignificant event in an insignificant country town in a small country in a corner of the world squeezed up against the wastelands of the Arctic Circle. We chose to study this community as a case because we believe that here might be social forces and consequences which are world-wide in generality, and which, if they can be isolated, described, and understood, could ease the birth-pangs of the modern urbanized world.

The Problem

This research is a study of community conflict within the context of social change involving urbanization, modernization, and centralization of institutional functions. We studied the development and resolution of a controversy involving school district reorganization in a Norwegian community as a case for the purpose of identifying and describing the relevant factors involved so that methods, concepts, and categories might be developed to facilitate comparable studies of community conflicts in general and conflicts involving school district reorganization in particular.

Sociologists have concerned themselves with studying the forms and nature of community and social conflict for a long time. This study is also an analysis of the factors involved in a type of community conflict which, to a large extent emerges out of the cultural and technological changes. These changes produce alterations in the locus and field of economic activity and social interaction as small rural communities become structurally integrated into larger and more inclusive social and economic systems.

This is a process which is taking place all over the world at the present time. Its effects are particularly marked with intense conflict in underdeveloped countries, as new nations attempt to orient the locus of loyalty and interaction patterns of villages and tribes to the large-scale organization of the national state. But the phenomenon is present in industrialized Western countries too, as the life of whole nations and their populations and functions are being organized around large urban centers, and as new transport and communication technology produces new economic and social needs and makes possible and necessary a spatially extended field of social interaction.

The Commission on School District Reorganization of the American Association of School Administrators in its 1958 report stated: "Reorganization of school districts is an imperative national need."[4] C. O. Fitzwater in a major study of the problem agrees substantially in these words:[5]

> The establishment of effective local districts for administering the public school has for many years, and particularly in the recent decades, been a problem of major importance. Few, if any, problems in American education have a greater influence on the educational opportunities of children and youth. The scope and quality of their public-school opportunities are in a very large measure directly dependent upon an adequate local school district structure.

Reorganization of school districts has been one approach to providing an adequate education for the atomic age and for achieving our national value of equality of opportunity by the equalization of educational opportunities.

Modern transportation and communication technology make it possible to assemble an adequate economic base. However, reorganization may be hindered or blocked by the refusal of people in communities to be reorganized, or, if reorganization is achieved by state action or after considerable conflict, scars may be left which will hinder the educational process for years. Why do communities often oppose and bitterly fight reorganization which seems to be in their own interest? It would be desirable to know what factors are involved and how they combine to facilitate an orderly and smooth transition, or how they form an unstable social mix that may set off a community explosion.

Related Literature

The related literature in this field is vast if one includes all accounts of particular cases of reorganization, as well as all the literature of community conflict. It is far beyond the scope of this work to include all of it; one can only attempt to characterize some of the literature in terms of some typical categories.

Dawson,[6] Klein and Hanna,[7] the Council of State Governments,[8] and Kreitlow[9] exemplify a type of literature which is essentially compilations of the opinions of school administrators and citizens as to what should or should not be done about school reorganization.

Some studies are chronological accounts of events relative to reorganization. Many of these are included in Fitzwater's 1957 study[5] of reorganization in school districts of 16 states, and Farner[10] chronicles the events of reorganization in the Coachella Valley District in California.

Much published material describes programs, and outlines specific administrative, legal, or organizational steps to be taken. The National Commission on School District Reorganization[11] suggests five general conclusions about procedure on the basis of school district reorganization in seven states.

Another series of studies deals with outcomes of reorganization. Kreitlow,[12] after studying the effects of reorganization of school districts on pupil performance, concludes that educational opportunities and pupil performance are increased by reorganization, while results for personal and social behavior are mixed. Fitzwater,[13] after studying reorganization in eight widely separated states, draws conclusions about characteristics common to the majority of reorganized school districts throughout the nation. Two of his findings are of special interest: (a) communities which have had a school plant in their midst for the longest time find reorganization most difficult, and (b) an amazing amount of objection actually resulted from emotional reluctance rather than from objective considerations of advantages and disadvantages of reorganization.

Bearing more directly on problems of our concern is a series of case studies dealing with conflict conditions and events and with community factors hindering or facilitating acceptance of reorganization. Alford[14,15] is concerned with community resistance to school reorganization in Calaveras County, California, and finds a direct confrontation of representatives of two value systems--localism and administrative effectiveness--and that resistance to reorganization varied according to which towns were unified around the schools to form a single community identity. Kreitlow[16] after three years of studying school reorganization in Wisconsin, tentatively concluded that certain factors were related to opposition to reorganization:

> (1) Homogeneous ethnic and religious groups that show resistance to change in their tendency to maintain their customs, traditions and cultural patterns also tend to resist changes in school district reorganization.
>
> (2) Conservatism and social stability as evidenced in areas of traditional family farms are associated with resistance to change in school district organization.
>
> (3) Communities in which neighborhood and family ties are strong tend to resist changes in school district organization.

Other studies have focussed on social "power" and influence as related to school reorganization. Wilson[17] described power figures and their operations on school administration in a county in Tennessee; Davis[18] isolated three individuals as the power elite in an Ohio school reorganization; while Aho[19] focussed on the power structures in another school district in Ohio during a period of reorganization and was interested in determining objectives and interests of groups and individuals involved.

Research by Kreitlow and Duncan[20] on farm operators in 19 pairs of rural neighborhoods in Wisconsin found that heterogeneous neighborhoods attain and set significantly higher educational goals than homogeneous neighborhoods.

Blikre[21] studied resistance to or acceptance of school reorganization and identified positive and negative factors related to successful and unsuccessful reorganizations in North Dakota. Sayres[22] studied 81 communities in New York where centralization campaigns had occurred.

The reasons for resistance to centralization and the number of centralization campaigns in which the reasons were cited is as follows: Concern with prospects of increased costs, 76; prospective loss of local control, 44; transportation issue, 32; preference for alternative centralization plan, 32; resistance to change, 27; conflicts among prospective constituent districts, 25; conflicts within districts, 25; local pride, 22; preference for relatively small schools, 18; lack of clear understanding of centralization, 17; influence of opposition groups, 12; vested interests, 10; preference for small population center, 5.

These studies and others from various parts of the country and from differing community situations can contribute to our research in that they sensitize us to problems, issues, and categories of significant events involved in reorganization, and their findings are important for comparison with results from our study of the Norwegian community.

Studies dealing with opinions about reorganization, "how-to-do it" programs, chronological descriptions of events, and case studies of reorganization have their value for many purposes, but they often deal with surface manifestations of underlying basic forces of which they are merely symptomatic. To a very large extent the studies seem to be pragmatic, programmatic, instrumental, empirical, and descriptive rather than analytical and theoretical. Furthermore, these studies are largely idiosyncratic in their methodology and frames of reference, making it difficult to compare one study with another and arrive at cumulative generalizations. Many of these studies do not report their research designs, if any, nor are they, with some notable exceptions, specific as to sampling and the nature of the instruments used. It would appear, therefore, that there exists some need for uniform methods and also a system of concepts which can be used to gather data and describe events uniformly, and a theoretical frame of reference which will tie events and facts together in a meaningful theory of school reorganization and community conflict.

We propose, therefore, to test the applicability of some sociological concepts and theories of social structure in an analysis of school reorganization conflict in a Norwegian community in the hope that a comparison of these data with results from American studies will expose useful concepts and fruitful theoretical frames of reference as well as fundamental generalizations concerning the phenomena involved. We shall also seek to evolve instruments and methods of study which will be described in detail to that they may be applicable to communities in the United States as well as other countries.

The Approach

According to Arensberg and Kimball[23] the community is "the minimal group capable of re-enacting in the present and transmitting to the future the cultural and institutional inventory of their distinctive and historic tradition." It is a system of interlocking systems, and therefore a tremendously complex multifactorial phenomenon.

To study this phenomenon social scientists have developed the community-study method which is characterized as follows by Arensberg in his classic statement on the subject: ". . . It is aimed at studying behavior and attitudes as objects _in vivo_ through observation rather than _in vitro_ through isolation and abstraction or a model through experiment."[24]

The emphasis is always on the holistic approach for "the community-study method seeks a first hand model of social, cultrual and psychological interconnections present in the whole round of local life,"[25] and he stresses that this method does not risk the loss of vital relationships by abstracting from the whole.[26] Proponents of this method see current statistical techniques as not being compatible with the community study method because statistical methods involve high degrees of abstraction from life, and the application of formal logic conflicts with the holistic emphasis and the method of "natural history" because statistical models are not, according to Arensberg, "_in vivo_."[27]

Yet it would seem that one must, of necessity, do some abstracting from the enormous totality of community reality those factors which are relevant to the area of investigation. The problem of establishing priorities of relevance of variables thus becomes crucial. Another methodological approach which derives from small studies of groups in industry and community (by Warner, Chappel, Arensberg, White and Richardson and Homans) and which is closely related to the community-study method, is event analysis which examines all aspects of a specific event in order to determine the functional relationships between distinct components within the event. Focussing on the event enables one to delimit observation to those factors that would seem to be necessary to explain the event.

The type of event, i.e., community conflict related to school district reorganization, which we are interested in studying is one which is prevalent in both Norway and the United States. In more general terms, the event is community conflict related to the enlargement of the scale of social organization; and, stated in this fashion, it is an event which is universal in the modern world.

Our procedure is similar to the community study method to the extent that (1) it tends to be holistic, naturalistic, and comparative, the examination of an event in vivo in its "full natural, living setting and relationship"; (2)

it uses observation, participant observation, existing economic and statistical data, local records and histories, documents, and newspapers files; and (3) it retains an outlook that is in some respects structural and qualitative.

Our approach is unlike the community method of study in that (1) the variables are limited to those needed to explain the event; (2) a schedule and questionnaire scales were constructed and applied to a systematically selected sample of the families of the community, and (3) measures of relationships were tested by measures of statistical significance. Our approach may thus be characterized as the application of survey techniques, scale building, and probability statistics as subordinate methods within a community study approach.

Procedure

A. Investigation of Literature

An investigation of literature on school district reorganization in the United States was made to achieve insight regarding social, cultural, psychological, and organizational factors involved in community conflict in this country. Norwegian literature dealing with the same subject was consulted.

B. Historical Study

Historical events and traditions of the community were studied through written histories and the accounts of old settlers. In addition census materials, official documents, correspondence, and newspaper files were employed, as well as special tabulations from the Norwegian bureau of the census.

C. The Schedule

The historical material and analysis of literature and preliminary field observation enabled us to construct a schedule which was translated into Norwegian (see Appendices A and B) and tested in a pilot study.

D. Scale Construction

Three scales were constructed, i.e., a Ruralism Scale, a School Localism Scale, and an Alienation Scale, which were tested for reliability, validity, and unidimensionality. These scales are described and technical details are given in Chapter IV.

E. Sample and Systematic Interview

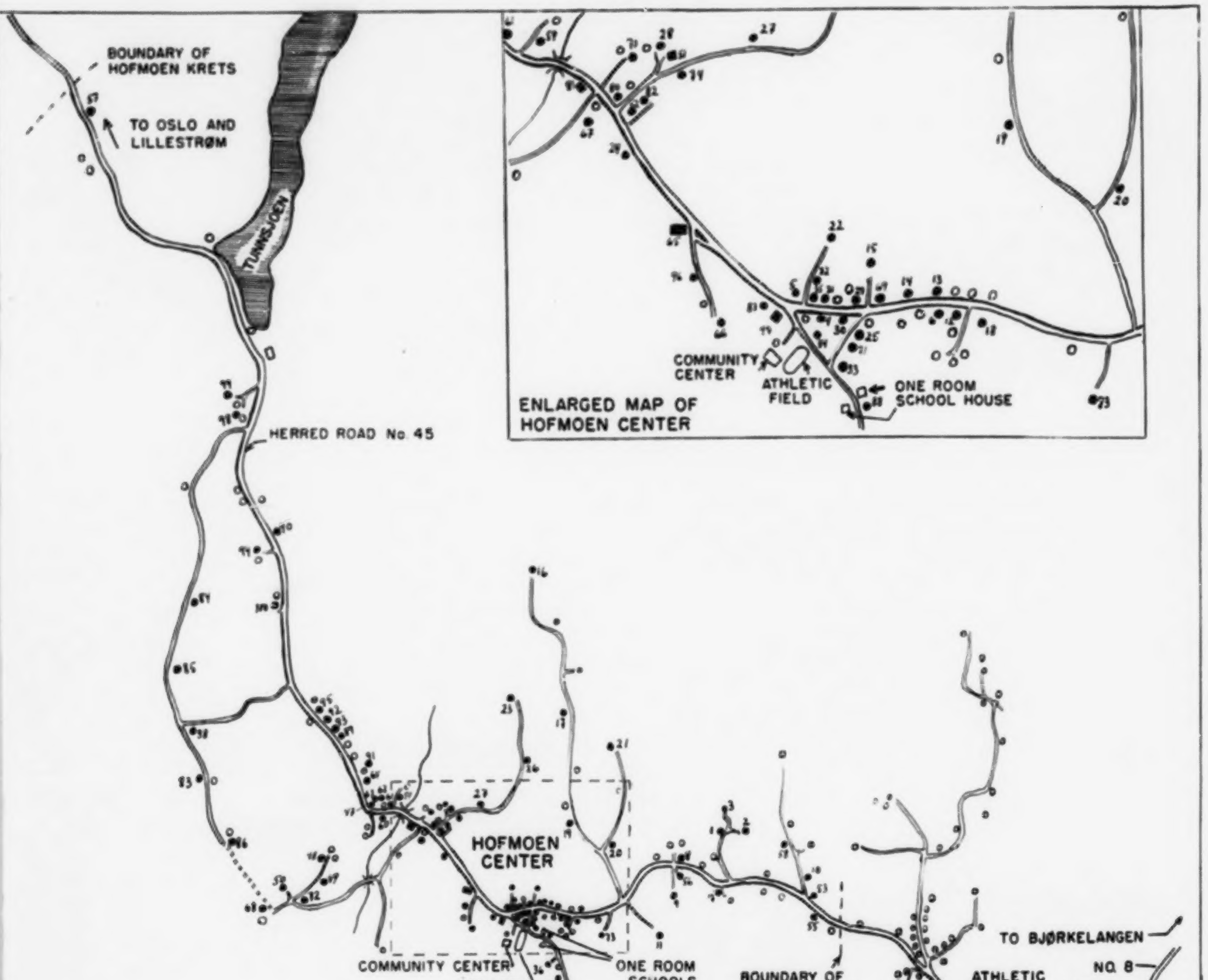
A Norwegian community where school reorganization conflict was in process, and which was somewhat isolated yet under the influence of a large city, was selected for the study. A social base map including all houses, buildings, and roads was made. The plan was to interview at every other house the adult member of a family, either the man or the woman, making sure that both males and females were proportionately included. Male and female representation was accomplished by interviewing at different times of the day and evening. It was not always possible to follow rigidly the every-other-house sampling plan for a variety of reasons, such as vacant houses, absence or sickness of family heads, the very advanged age of the respondent, or a rare refusal. If it was not possible to take every other house, we selected the house nearest the one where the interview could not be made. In this way we made sure that all parts of the community were contacted, as will be seen from the map of Hofmoen on the following page. We interviewed in 100 households, which constituted about a 50 per cent sample of the households in the community. In addition questionaires were completed by key educational officials. The interviewing and observation were conducted over a period of nine months from October, 1962, to May, 1963.

F. Analysis

These scales were used to test various relationships between variables and results of the systematic survey were analyzed by machine tabulation and computations.

G. The Report

The introductory chapter defines the problem and its significance. Chapter II describes ecological aspects of the community: land, sustenance relations, division of labor, economic base, settlement pattern, and spatial relations to other communities and the nation. In Chapter III the chronology of events leading up to and during the conflict is presented. Cultural and psychological factors and ideology are considered in Chapter IV. In Chapter V an attempt is made to isolate the social structural elements bearing on the conflict, and in Chapter VI, a summarizing theoretical statement highlights the significance and meaning of the findings in terms of a series of interrelated concepts.


ENLARGED MAP OF HOFMOEN CENTER
COMMUNITY CENTER
ATHLETIC FIELD
ONE ROOM SCHOOL HOUSE
BOUNDARY OF HOFMOEN KRETS
TO OSLO AND LILLESTRØM
TUNNSJØEN
HERRED ROAD No. 45
HOFMOEN CENTER
COMMUNITY CENTER
ATHLETIC FIELD
ONE ROOM SCHOOLS
BOUNDARY OF HOFMOEN KRETS
TO BJØRKELANGEN
NO. 8
ATHLETIC FIELD
LØKEN CONSOLIDATED SCHOOL
CHURCH
LØKEN
HERRED ROAD NO. 45
HERRED ROAD NO. 8 TO S. HØLAND
BOUNDARY OF HOFMOEN KRETS
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● HOUSES OF FAMILIES INTERVIEWED

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II. ECOLOGICAL FACTORS: COMMUNITY AND PEOPLE

Where men locate their homes and institutions has implications for community conflict, because the physical aspect of the community plays an important part in maintaining or disrupting the social system. Territoriality has both instrumental and fetishistic functions.

Land and Sustenance

The herred Nordre Høland is in the southeast corner of Akershus fylke,* in the southeast corner of Norway near the Swedish border. The area lacks the grandeur and wildness of the mountainous terrain of Western Norway, but it is a pleasant land of forests, lakes, streams, shallow valleys, and rolling hills that rise to heights of 300 to 400 meters. The area is mostly covered by coniferous forests, 62 per cent of which is productive. Only 13 per cent of the area is cultivated; the rest is unproductive land, lakes, and rivers.

It is from this 13 per cent that the community must draw its sustenance, but while farming, forestry, and woodworking have always been the community's principal sustenance activities, industrial enterprises have been tried from time to time. As early as 1770 there were six saws and five mills driven by water power in the district. Four of these saws could only produce lumber for the village, and two were permitted to saw for "export." By 1820 there were thirteen sawmills, nine producing for local consumption and four for export. Gjellebøl mentions two farms that catered to travelers and describes the inhabitants of Høland as very honest and not corrupted by commercialism. Iron smelting was attempted in 1762, but did not prove successful. In 1813, however, a glass factory employing 106 persons began production, and in 1840 a nail factory was started. All these enterprises were discontinued, probably because of the relative isolation of the district; a trip to Oslo over poor roads took about three days 150 years ago. The smallness of the scale of production in Høland is indicated by the following table:

TABLE I. Industries in Høland in 1875

Industry	No.	No. of Workers
Brick kilns	1	5
Dye Houses	2	3
Tanneries	4	7
Saw-mills	4 water power, 2 steam	36
Furniture Factories	2	4

---

*The Norwegian fylke is a political administrative division corresponding roughly to the county in the United States. A herred, sometimes called a kommune, is a smaller political unit somewhat like the New England township.

In 1914 there were 33 small enterprises in the district. The first general store was started at Løken in the middle of the last century. Before this the kommune administration had prohibited such a development since, in their view, people could shop in Kristiania and Moss, and there was no reason to let commercialism into the village. Høland Savings Bank began operation in 1850, and in 1909 a dairy processing plant was built at Loken.

Until the present time Høland has never had many industries, and the ones that have been started have not been conspicuously successful. One must conclude that the community has not been able to relate itself adequately to the economy of the large-scale society, probably because of such fundamental handicaps as the absence of adequate energy sources, its location in a corner of the country, and the relatively poor communication with population and industrial centers.

Today many people own farms that they cultivate in the summer while they work as lumberjacks in the forests in the winter, an occupational combination that has a long tradition in this part of the country. Others have combined farming and carpentry or construction work. Quite a few farms have carpenter shops which used to produce for the market. While most of the farms and some forest land are owned and operated by resident families, 34 per cent of the productive forests are in the hands of absentee owners, most of it being owned by A/S Stangeskogene, and Westbye Engeberg and Company.

Following is a table of occupational specialities:

TABLE II. Occupational Classification of Persons more than 15 Years Old, Nordre Høland, 1960[28]

Occupation	Totals	Men	Women
Farming	411	396	15
Lumbering	124	123	1
Mining	18	18	0
Industry	430	360	70
Construction	164	164	0
Power and Water Supply	7	7	0
Retailing	101	62	39
Finance	14	7	7
Transportation	12	12	0
Administration and Defense	27	22	5
Services	98	48	50
Personal Services	60	9	51
Not Reported	5	5	0
Housewives	953	0	953
Other members of families doing housework	80	5	75
Renters and Pensioned	277	155	122
Dependents	173	92	81
Miscellaneous	1	1	0
TOTALS	3,054	1,575	1,479

The occupational base of Nordre Høland has gradually changed, as it has in many other places. The proportion of people who could make a living from farm and forest has diminished. As these occupations have become progressively mechanized, there is less need for men to perform the necessary work. In addition, as the standard of living continues to rise, the working force, liberated from farm and forest, must seek new sources of income to meet increasing requirements. The proportion of persons in industry and services has increased; however, primary economic enterprises do not yet employ all displaced workers or those entering the labor force because of natural increases in population.

One problem for Nordre Høland, as for most rural areas in Norway as well as in less developed countries, is that the area has not been able to attract industries to absorb the workers displaced from their old occupations. As a result, many of them leave the community or travel out of the district to the cities of Lillestrøm and Oslo to work.

When Nordli Bruk went bankrupt, about 150 men had to look around for other work. Many of the small carpenter shops which earlier created important supplementary income for farmers are, for the most part, no longer able to compete because furniture production, which was a handcraft industry, today takes place almost completely in factories outside the area.

The situation has led to some out-migration from the area. In the period from 1921 to 1959 there was a net out-migration of 347 persons; the net out-migration was 160 persons in the 1947-1959 interval. In spite of this out-migration, it would seem that most people who must find work outside the kommune are strongly attracted to it and prefer to live there and to travel to work located elsewhere.

In 1960, 217 out of a labor force of 11,574 had permanent jobs outside the kommune, and of these 101 worked in Oslo. Today (1963) four buses filled with workers leave for Lillestrøm and Oslo from North and South Høland. The buses leave between 5:30 and 7:00 in the morning and return at 6:00 in the evening. The road to the industrial centers of Lillestrøm and Oslo is long, and most travelers hope that the kommune will soon acquire new industries.

Income

This sustenance base does not yield an affluent society, as can be seen by the comparisons in the following table:

TABLE III. Average Assessed Income per Taxpayer in Norway and Selected Areas*

Area	Income (In Kroner)**
Norway Total	11,007
Rural Districts	9,513
Towns	13,759
Akershus County	12,282
Oslo County	15,679
Hofmoen	7,497

*Data for all areas except Hofmoen are from 1959, as reported in Satistick Sentralbyraa, Statistisk Aarbok for Norge, 1962, p. 180. Data for Hofmoen are for 1961 as a result of special tabulation by Østfold Hullkortsentral, Sarpsborg, March, 1963.

**Though the exchange rate varies slightly from day to day, one dollar has been exchanged for slightly more-than seven kroner for years.

It is apparent that Hofmoen's income is well below both the national average and the average for rural districts in Norway, and it is about half that of the neighboring county of Oslo.

The distribution of income and a comparison of Hofmoen and the township of Nordre Høland is provided in Table IV.

TABLE IV. Income Distribution in Hofmoen Krets and Nordre Høland Kommune, Fiscal Year 1961*

Income in Kroner	Hofmoen		Remainder of Nordre Høland	
	No. Taxpayers	Percent	No. Taxpayers	Percent
40,000 and over	0	0.0	5	0.2
30,000-39,999	1	0.3	11	0.5
25,000-29,999	3	0.9	31	1.5
20,000-24,999	9	2.7	53	2.5
15,000-19,999	20	5.9	197	9.3
10,000-14,999	89	26.3	458	21.5
Under 10,000	216	63.9	1,376	64.5
Total	338	100.0	2,131	100.0

*Data from special tabulation by Østfold Hullkortsentral A/L, Sarpsborg, March, 1963.

By comparison with their neighbors, Hofmoen Krets seems to have a smaller range of income, with only 1.2 per cent in the upper brackets as compared to 2.2 for the rest of the community. In Hofmoen 90.2 per cent of the incomes fall below 15,000 kr, while the corresponding figure for Nordre Høland is 86.0 per cent. With this kind of income distribution one should not expect important class cleavages, and in a democracy one should expect the interest and political ideology of the majority (lower income group) to prevail. Our subsequent political analysis will bear out this fact. As the citizen of Hofmoen looks at his immediate neighbors, and especially if he compares his lot with his countrymen in the neighboring county, what he sees should not leave room for complacency about the ability of his community system to provide a superior standard of living.

Spatial Patterns and Relationships

Most of the families in Høland live in their own homes on farms or in small houses along the gravel and dirt roads. There are four built-up areas (Hussamlinger), or hamlets also in Nordre Holand: Løken had 30 inhabited houses and 150 residents in 1950, Hofmoen had 25 houses and 91 residents, Bjørkelangen had 20 inhabited houses and 115 residents, and Fosser had 20 houses and 113 residents. During the 1950-1963 period the population of these built-up areas has increased slightly, particularly Bjørkelangen which is the largest place today.

Our attention will be focussed on Hofmoen, the hamlet and the surrounding farms and dwellings related to it and comprising the sub-community of Hofmoen as well as the krets or school attendance area.* Hofmoen has been a true sociological community and an educational administrative unit for a long time. One of the two one-room school buildings has been in the hamlet for more than 100 years.

The community of Hofmoen consists of a center with 25 houses, three general stores, a community center, a religious meeting house, two one-room school houses and scattered farm dwellings. There were 658 people in the community in February, 1963. The distribution in space of the dwellings is shown on the map of Hofmoen (page 9) and is indicated by the distance from the center of Hofmoen to the home of each respondent as detailed in Table V.

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*Krets, corresponding most nearly to our attendance ares. Hofmoen krets was, however, not only an educational administrative unit, but a true sociological community.

TABLE V. Distance from Hofmoen Center to Homes of Respondents

Distance in Kilometers*	No.
0 - 0.5	27
0.5 - 1.9	28
2 - 3.9	38
4 - 4.9	5
5 - 6.9	2
Total	100

*1 mile = 1.6093 kilometers

The backbone of the community is a gravel township road which connects the dirt roads of individual farms and driveways of houses located along the main roads to each other. The farm roads are usually dead-end roads; entrance and exit from the community is through Løken in the south and Fjellsrud in the north. The community is surrounded by forests, swamps, and fields which provide natural boundaries for the krets, but which at the same time cut the community off to a certain extent from the rest of Nordre Høland.

Since the end of the last century farm owners have constituted the majority of its inhabitants. Before then many of the people were tenants working on farms controlled by the church centered at Løken. Today the firm of Stangeskovene owns a large proportion of the forest tracts, the rest of the forest being owned by independent farmers.

The occupational composition of Hofmoen is indicated in Table VI.

TABLE VI. Occupational Distribution of Hofmoen Male Respondents, in Percentages, 1963

Occupation	Per Cent
Farmer	38.5
Carpenter, Construction Worker	15.8
Transportation -- Owner or Driver	3.5
Self-employed	3.5
Industrial worker	10.6
White-collar worker	8.8
Other occupations	5.3
Retired	14.0

The primary economic base, as can be seen, is agriculture. Hofmoen provides no other means of making a living except for the three small general stores, which are family enterprises, and everyone except farmers must seek his livelihood elsewhere.

About two and a quarter miles from Hofmoen is Løken, the administrative center for the herred. There the township's central state church and administrative offices are located. The sheriff (lensmann) has his headquarters here, as has the tax administration. Besides some retail stores, such as a general store and a hardware store, Løken has a dairy (meieri), a bank, a service station and garage, and an inn with a cafeteria and rooms to rent. In addition, Løken has a relatively new central school. Some small factories have located near the town: a candy factory and a shop making small automobile trailers. For a long time there have been a couple of saw mills and woodworking plants here, but the biggest enterprise near Løken, Nordli Bruk, went bankrupt a few years ago and is out of business.

Bjørkelangen has become the largest center in the herred. There are found the largest numbers of stores and enterprises in the area and especially certain specialty shops not found elsewhere in the township. In addition Bjørkelangen has a hotel and the editorial offices of the local newspaper, Indre Akershus Blad, a non-political township paper published three times a week. Furthermore the biggest central school in the township has just been completed in the village; the administrative offices of Norde Høland school district are also located here.

During the decade of 1890 a narrow-gauge railroad was constructed through the Høland district. Its principal purpose was to carry lumber from the forests and timber from the saw mills in the district. Two years ago this railroad was discontinued because it is more practical today to use trucks and buses. When operations on the state-owned Aurskog-Høland line ceased it was said that the roads in the district would be widened and surfaced, but as of now (1963) this work has not been done.

There are two roads from Nordre Høland to Oslo. One road is from Bjørkelangen through Sørum and Frogner connecting with national road 50 to Oslo; another road is from Bjørkelangen and goes through Løken, Hofmoen, Fetsund and Lillestrøm to Oslo (see map). Both of these roads to Oslo are about equally long, and winding for the most part, and are only partially surfaced all-weather roads. Road connections to the nearest urban centers, Lillestrøm and Oslo, are not satisfactory in terms of modern requirements. Most people in Nordre Høland live 60-80 kilometers (36-48 miles) from Oslo. A A bus trip from Oslo to Bjørkelangen or Fosser takes about two hours, but the time varies with the seasons, and traffic conditions in the Oslo area.

The trip from Hofmoen to Oslo is a little shorter, since Hofmoen is in the northern part of Nordre Høland nearest Oslo. It is probably because of this location that new houses have been built lately in the Hofmoen area. Particularly in the hamlet of Hofmoen, sometimes referred to as "Momoen", there has been new construction, for the most part by people who work in Oslo or

Lillestrøm and in this way live as near to their livelihood as possible without leaving Hofmoen. The hamlet is considered by the rest of the people in the district to be somewhat more westward oriented to Fet, Lillestrøm, and Oslo. Hofmoen is also somewhat isolated from the rest of Nordre Høland by forests and swamps which surround it; there is only one connection to the rest of the community and that by a narrow winding gravel road leading through Løken.

Population

The population of Nordre Høland has fluctuated in the last hundred years, diminishing from 3,117 in 1865 to its low point of 2,978 in 1910, and then slowly increasing to 4,083 in 1960. The population of Nordre Høland at various periods of time is indicated in Table VII.

TABLE VII

Population of Nordre Høland 1865-1960*	
1865	3,117
1875	2,860
1890	2,684
1900	2,832
1910	2,978
1920	3,188
1930	3,305
1946	3,813
1950	3,948
1960	4,083

*Statistisk Sentralbyraa-Oslo, Folketellingen 1, November, 1960, Nordre Høland, p. 5.

The decline in population toward the end of the 19th century is related to emigration to the United States, and the increase from 1910 to 1960 is primarily a natural increase. In the period from 1947 to 1959 Nordre Høland had a net migration loss of 160 person,s while the natural increase was 444; so that there was a net increase of 284 persons in the population in this period. In the longer period, from 1921 to 1959, the population increased by 921 persons; the natural increase was 1,295 but the in-migration out-migration process produced a net loss of 374 persons. It is apparent that Nordre Høland is a population exporting area, sending its surplus people to America in the last decade of the 19th century and to the developing urban centers of industry and commerce in 20th century Norway. As a social system the community is failing in one of its important functions in that it cannot extract from its environment resources sufficient to support the population it produces. Such a demographic situation has psychological concomitants because the departure of a member of the community or family tends to produce a certain feeling of inadequacy, rejection, and insecurity in those who remain, feelings which may induce those who harbor them to develop ideologies to rationalize an uncomfortable reality and to look for scapegoats on which to fasten blame. The attempt to take the school and therefore the children from Hofmoen became the stimulus which mobilized defenses against threats to the security system of its inhabitants, to their institutions, and to the entire community.

Affective Components of Space

Space or area is not limited to its instrumental functions, but may also achieve fetishistic qualities, that is, become a source of important values *per se*. The associative process by which emotion-laden sentiments and values become linked to a spatial area is, as Firey points out, but a special case of the more general rule that meanings necessarily fix upon symbols for communication between actors.[29] Values may thus endow space with symbolic qualities which stand for a variegated pattern of values, the nucleus for a constellation of emotions and sentiments which become dynamic factors in motivation for social action. When an area having sentimental significance to persons and groups is threatened by rival social systems, such as another community or the bureaucracy of the State, the threat stimulates the affected community to resist.

That the area of Hofmoen had symbolic values for its people is reflected by their replies to many of our questions and by their words and actions as the controversy developed. Monumental stones along the roads and their written history reminded them of the heroic deeds of their ancestors who defended this land and bled and died for it. For example, respondents were asked to react to the statement: "We should like to have an expression of your feelings about Hofmoen. With which of the following statements do you agree?" The statements and the responses of our 100 respondents to them are shown in Table VIII.

TABLE VIII. Per cent of Respondents Who Chose Indicated Answer to Statements about Hofmoen

Statement	N=100 Per cent
For me, Hofmoen is the best place to live.	74
Not everything is perfect, but all in all, Hofmoen is a good place to live.	23
Hofmoen is a poor place to live.	1
I can't get away from here soon enough.	2

That most residents of Hofmoen suited their action to their words is indicated by the fact that of the sample the average number of years of residence in Hofmoen was 47 years. Sixty-four per cent had grown up in Hofmoen and continued to live there, and an additional fifteen per cent had grown up in the surrounding area. Many of the persons involved in the controversy owned farms that had remained in the families for centuries. And when the leader of otherwise sober unemotional and undemonstrative people in a public meeting proclaims passionately, "---Fight we must as long as we have a drop of blood left---fight for all that you hold dear, die if necessary---,"[1] one may assume that the area has achieved affective connotation.

It is apparent from interviews that the people perceived a threat to their community from their immediate rivals, Løken and Bjørkelangen, where new schools and other functional agencies were increasingly being located while their own were being taken away. The affective reaction to the situation suggests that the local community has become an extension of an inhabitant's ego so that any action which seems to diminish the status of the community and its security becomes, in effect, a threat to the self and security systems of the individual involved.

It is clear that this brief sketch of some salient characteristics of the community highlights certain important ecological factors; that is, certain spatial, functional, and sustenance relationships which have emerged as the population has organized itself to draw from its environment the resources required to maintain the community within a field of complex social and cultural factors. The nature of the land and the spatial arrangements of what is on the land have important implications for community conflict because territoriality, as indicated, has both instrumental and fetishistic functions. The land and what can be extracted from it forms the base of the community's sustenance activities; and the territory and its spatial arrangement is the existential base of the social systems, the frame and structure within which the community's functional processes are organized.

Hofmoen's relative isolation helps to sustain its feeling of unity and belonging, but also sets it somewhat apart from the rest of Nordre Høland, thus contributing to its local solidarity and attenuating its relations with the rest of the kommune. Its proximity to Bjørkelangen, Løken, and Oslo, the migration of its young people, and the inadequacy of its economic base to support all its people according to the higher expectation of a modern life contributed greatly to dissociative tendencies of rivalry and envy.

III. THE CHRONOLOGY OF CONFLICT

A chronology of events is included to show the interrelationships of individuals and groups involved by the acts of persons and groups at different stages in the developing conflict. The record of previous happenings is important in that it gives us background for the event we are analyzing, and sheds light on the motivations, actions, and attachment patterns of the roles of key persons and groups involved in the conflict.

History of School Organization in Nordre Høland*

Ten years ago Nordre Høland was composed of five school attendance areas (*kretser*); i.e., Sandem, Løken, Hofmoen, Klava (Fosser), and Bjørkelangen. At that time Norway had a compulsory seven-year public school. In the decade of the fifties, the authorities sought to establish a nine-year compulsory school in all of Norway. During this period of transition, the national authorities have granted certain economic advantages to the townships (*kommunene*) which, from the start, had agreed to develop the nine-year school. Financial support of public elementary schools in Norway is divided between the national state government and the kommune. Nordre Høland was the first township (kommune) in Akershus county (fylke) that voted for the nine-year elementary school. The large new central school buildings at Løken and Bjørkelangen with their up-to-date, first-class, special-subject rooms sought to meet the needs of the nine-year school. The school at Løken was built to provide for the specialty education that students would get in the first six years of the elementary school, and at Bjørkelangen there was added to the six-year school those facilities required for the seventh, eight, and ninth years of school, forming the so-called youth school ("ungdomskole"). When students have completed six years at Løken, they travel by bus to Bjørkelangen for the next three years.

This new development has centralized education in the area of Løken and Bjørkelangen. Before this time students from the small schools in the district came by bus to Løken or Bjørkelangen two days a week for English and vocational subjects which the small schools could not give. At that time, after students had attended the local schools for six years, they were transported by bus to Bjørkelangen for all instruction in the three last years.

Educational authorities found it practical after a while to discontinue the local schools. The first to go was the Sandem school near Løken; then the school at Klava, near Fosser between Løken and Bjørkelangen, was discontinued. Sandem krets was consolidated with Løken, and Klava was divided between Løken and Bjorkelangen. Finally it was Hofmoen's turn to be consolidated. The educational authorities wanted to discontinue schools at Hofmoen and send the students to Løken. The centralization of Sandem and Klava schools had been achieved without much difficulty, but the attempt to consolidate the Hofmoen school precipitated a bitter community conflict which is the focus of this study.

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*This section may be more meaningful if an understanding of the organizational and authority structure is acquired by reading the section in Chapter V, "Social Structural Factors," pp. 43-46.

The Consolidation of Hofmoen School

Hofmoen was the last school in Nordre Høland to become involved in the consolidation plans. In January, 1961, Skoledirektør Helgheim wrote to the skolestyre and requested that the question of consolidation of Hofmoen school with Løken be considered. Skoleinspectør Rydland, who had his office at Bjørkelangen, analyzed the situation in a lengthy report in November, 1961. He stressed that the organization of the schools must be geared to future requirements of the community and nation, and detailed the possible alternatives as follows:

A. Discontinue the Hofmoen school and send all students in classes one through six to Løken and all in classes seven through nine to Bjørkelangen.

B. Continue classes one through six at Hofmoen and send seven through nine to Bjørkelangen.

C. Continue classes one through three (smaaskolen) at Hofmoen, send four through six (storskolen) to Løken, and seven through nine (ungdomsskolen) to Bjørkelangen.

The financial analysis showed that alternative A would require new buildings with a capital outlay of 150,000 kroner and a yearly maintenance fund of 10,000 kroner. Alternative B would require a new school at Hofmoen costing 670,000 kroner and yearly maintenance of 32,000 kroner for Hofmoen students only. Alternative C would mean that existing buildings at Hofmoen would have to be repaired at a cost of between 30-40,000 crowns and a yearly maintenance expense of 20,000 crowns. In addition to the economic analysis the skoleinspektør pointed out that without consolidation the classes in Løken would be either too big for good teaching or too small from a rational economic point of view, and that with consolidation, ideal class sizes of 17 to 21 would be achieved. The skoleinspektør therefore urged the adoption of alternative A as the most rational, economical, and pedagogically defensible plan of action.

Tilsynet at Hofmoen considered the proposal at a meeting of November 28, 1961, and decided to advocate alternative B; that is, to continue the school at Hofmoen. They also called all parents to a meeting of the krets by an announcement in the local paper. Twice before at meetings of the Hofmoen krets (Feb. 5, 1958, and Feb. 6, 1961) they had decided to maintain the school at Hofmoen.

On December, 1961, the krets met at the Hofmoen community center to debate the skoleinspektør's proposition. Skoleinspektør Rydland and the chairman of the kommune Skolestyre (board of education), Melby, were the only ones at the meeting who wanted alternative A, which involved the discontinuation of the school at Hofmoen. At this meeting the 151 persons present voted to continue the school at Hofmoen and build a new school.

At this meeting both the skoleinspektør and the chairman of the kommune skolestyre were subjected to a violent verbal attack. The financial estimates were seriously questioned, and builder Henrik Frogner said that 670,000 kroner for a new school at Hofmoen was too much, that 140,000 kroner was more like it, and that the additions to Løken school were underestimated; in fact, in his opinion the estimates should be reversed. Melby was accused of deceiving the people and Skoleinspektør Rydland was subjected to a violent personal attack on his honesty and integrity. The skoleinspektør remarked that the meeting was characterized by an emotional and unrestrained atmosphere. The chairman of the krets Tilsynet (P.T.A.) answered by saying, "In war everything is permitted."

The people of the krets defended their position essentially by economic arguments, maintaining in the face of the exponent's figures that to continue the school at Hofmoen would be cheaper. They were also against the bussing of children to Løken (about 5 km), objecting to the waiting for buses in all kinds of weather, bus trips without supervision, and the removal of children from their home environment.

After the members of the krets had had their say, the case was considered in Nordre Høland skolestyre December 4, 1961. At the suggestion of Mr. Kristiansen, a teacher from Bjørkelangen, alternative A providing for complete discontinuation of the school at Hofmoen, was accepted by this body. This action precipitated the dramatic walk-out from the meeting of two members of the kommune skolestyre who lived at Hofmoen, namely, Ordfører Engebretsen and Thoralf Olberg. The communal conflict was really out in the open now with full newspaper coverage, fat headlines, and letters to the editor discussing the pros and cons of small schools and centralized schools. People were organized to form an association for the preservation of the small local schools. Educators who had discussed school centralization, in particular such as Erling Kristvik and Martin Strømnes who were against it, were quoted at length.

Strike Threat and Conflict

On February 5, 1962, the skoledirektør received the following petition signed by 332 adults from Hofmoen:

> Hofmoen, Feb. 5, 1962
>
> Residents of Hofmoen krets in Nordre Høland appeal to you regarding the decision which was taken in Nordre Høland skolestyre with reference to the moving of Hofmoen school.

Since all meetings that were held regarding this matter voted unanimously to keep the school, we think it presumptuous to move the school without more ado.

Does Skoledirektøren realize that only six members of Nordre Høland skolestyre were involved in the case and that none of these are from Hofmoen krets? All parents in Hofmoen krets are offended by such treatment.

The only reason we let this situation develop as far it has is that we could not believe that such arrangement could possibly be acceptable to higher educational authorities. We would like to ask: "Are not these our children that you make decisions about? Do not we as parents have anthing to say? Should you not have taken account of the opinions of parents and the krets? As parents we know our children, and therefore know what is best for them regarding their health and education. The children in Hofmoen krets are just as educationally advanced as any other children in the community.

As a demonstration of our sincere convictions we send this letter to you as a warning that we intend never to accept this proposal. We are all agreed that the day we get the order to move there will be a total strike.

Copies sent to: Department of Church and Education, Fylke Board of Education, Nordre Høland executive committee and Nordre Holand skolestyre.

There followed a list of some 332 names which was signed by Thoralf Olberg and Jenny Frogner.

The controversy continued into the Spring of 1962, and on March 8 the case was again the concern of the Nordre Høland township government (herredsstyre) when a wide-ranging, hot debate of some 3½ hours raged. It was followed with great interest by the partisans and received much press coverage. The same arguments were dragged out as at the krets meeting four months before. In addition, Hofmoen partisans claimed that discontinuing their school would lead to considerable economic loss. It was claimed that families would move away, and that people who had bought building lots in order to build at Hofmoen had given up the idean since the school strife had become common knowledge.

On the other side, it was claimed that all the factors that applied to earlier consolidation of Sandem and Klava and hundreds of other attendance areas also applied in this case. Busing of children could not be avoided, and the economic calculations had been checked and approved. The chairman of the Nordre Høland board of education (the herred skolestyre) Melby, who was also a member of the ruling Labor Party, expressed himself thus: "I understand the krets and the feelings involved in this matter, but I also understand the rationalization efforts which the authorities want put into effect. Though I hate to say so, I do not believe that the country has the resources to effect a modernization of the educational plant in any other way. Regardless of the outcome here today, the case will be decided by authorities whose function it is to do so. And this we should welcome because that will be the end of these harrowing deliberations of the krets."

Someone then remarked that it was really strange that the opinion of the krets was the one first sought when in the final analysis the Department could make whatever decision it chose. One exclaimed, "Raise hell if the Department takes the decision to discontinue our school."

The herredstyre reversed itself and voted to continue the complete school at Hofmoen, that is, alternative B, or if this could not be approved to keep smaaskolen (grades one through three) at Hofmoen. The case then went to the skoledirektør who presisted in his decision to use alternative A, that is, to discontinue the Hofmoen school and transfer it to Løken.

During the Summer of 1962 the Department of Church and Education deliberated about the case, as did representatives for the krets and the herred skolestyre. Then on August 10, 1962, the decision of the Department to discontinue the school at Hofmoen and consolidate it with Løken was announced. The three highest grades were ordered transferred to Løken, and the suggestion of the skoleinspektør to keep the three youngest groups until matters could be arranged at Løken was followed.

On August 15, a hastily called meeting of the krets was held at Hofmoen's community center and 102 persons were present. The meeting unanimously adopted a resolution which was sent to the skolestyre. It said that unless the skolestyre reversed the transfer of the fourth, fifth, and sixth classes to Løken, there would be a strike beginning August 17 (the opening day of school after the summer vacation). The resolution was signed by Gunnar Aaserud, Arne Fosshaug, Theodore Alberg, and Jenny Frogner.

Resolution of the Conflict

On August 16 the skolestyre met. Skoleinspektør Rydland said, "It is the decision of the Department we are discussing. That decision is the final one that we cannot add to or subtract from. I cannot reverse the decision concerning the transfer." At this meeting Henrik Frogner from Hofmoen, who was the substitute for ordfører Engebretsen came up with a surprising demand: take all of Hofmoen school or none at all. (In a later interview, Gunnar Aaserud admitted that it was a ploy to put the administration in a dilemma since they knew Løken school was not prepared to take all.) Rydland objected, saying that he could not recommend such a solution now, but Frogner's proposal nevertheless carried five to four. To prevent complete chaos, after a telephone talk with skoledirektør Helgheim, it was decided to postpone all action until October 1 with the students attending school as before.

The next move was made by skoledirektør Helgheim who on August 28 asked N. Høland skolestyre to consider the case again. It seems he had had a communication from the Department which put the matter in a new light. A new factor had been added, and because of it, the skolestyre was asked to take up the matter again.

At this last meeting of the Nordre Høland board of education, letters from cabinet ministers, Helge Sivertsen and T. Sirevaag were read. It seemed the Department had analyzed the room situation at Løken school and decided that the transfer of grades four, five, and six to Løken could take place without difficulty and there was no reason for delay; also that grades one, two and three could remain at Hofmoen for the time being. The Hofmoen attendance area (krets) was abolished but the community could keep its smaaskole and woman teacher.

Another meeting of the krets was held at Hofmoen at which a strike was discussed. A speaker mentioned that they could risk fines without accomplishing anything with a strike. Nevertheless opinions were divided. The chairman of the krets, who was now Gunnar Aaserud, called together the parents who had children in school and the majority of these decided not to strike. The rest decided to go along with this decision.

Authorities of Løken, Bjørkelangen, and Oslo, as well as the local and metropolitan press wondered if the children from Hofmoen would be in school on the morning of October 1. All the children were there without exception. The immediate crisis of the community's educational institution was over after a long and bitter struggle, but the soreness and scars of the conflict remained.

What had started out as a rational discussion of principles of economics and instrumentation to achieve better education for children had generated into bitterness, personal attacks and emotional public outbursts.*

Other school districts and attendance areas in the same locality had been consolidated without conflict or much fuss. What were the ingredients of the Hofmoen situation that combined to create an explosion and disruption of the stability of the community's social system?

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*See Introduction, p. 1, 2.

IV. CULTURAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL FACTORS

Groups may be thought of as instrumentalities by which a person achieves certain basic personality needs such as self-esteem and self-orientation. When particular events are perceived as threats to the group, and through the group to the vital needs of the personality, insecurity and fear are created, heightening tension and stimulating aggressive tendencies which may lead to community conflict. We shall now consider certain cultural and psychological factors which seem to have contributed to this conflict situation.

Historical Heritage

Disassociative feelings, as well as associative sentiments may be created by historical events as well as ecological factors. Such phenomena become part of the consciousness of a people and help to create a desirable sense of identity which is part of their security system.

The attachments and sentiments of these people to their community has deep historical roots. The old schoolmaster spoke to us about archeological findings which indicated that Hofmoen had been a meeting place in the stone age; he said also that it had been a place for military training in the 18th and 19th centuries. The first interview we had was at the Ofrim farm, which was mentioned as Ovrum in the rental rolls of 1362. Names of some persons participating in the school conflict appear in early histories of the area: Solberg is mentioned as early as 1367, and a Høland parsonage is mentioned as early as 1577. Olberg appears in documents dating from the end of the 16th century.*

As one travels in Nordre Høland one becomes aware of monumental stones which mark old battlegrounds where Swedes and Norwegians fought in earlier centuries. This was the area where the "Great Nordic War" (1700-1721) was fought, and when Sweden attacked Norway in 1716 the first battle was fought in Høland. After the Swedish hero King Charles XII had been repulsed in Russia, he turned his attention to Norway with the aim of taking Kristiania (Oslo). He personally led his army into Høland, and after many battles overcame the resistance of the Norwegians. But the fight delayed the Swedes enough for defenses to be erected further inside the country. Again in the Napoleonic wars (1807-1814) the area was the scene of conflict. Battles between Norwegian and Swedish troops took place in 1808 and again in 1814. The solidarity of the group is enhanced by this shared heritage, the heroic past made vital by such rituals as the 17th of May celebration when the citizens of Hofmoen march in parade from Hofmoen to Løken Church with flags and banners to celebrate Independence Day.

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*The historical data is drawn from the several histories dealing with the Høland area; cf. Rejer Gjellebøl, Beskrivelse over Hølands Praestegiaeld. Kjøbenhavn, Kgl. Universitaets Bogtrykkeri, 1771. Gabriel Smith Faye, Hølands Menigheds og Praesters Historie. Kristiana, Det Steenske Bogtrykkeri, 1866. Olaf Holtedahl, Høland og Shetskogen Herreder. Kristiania, Grøndahl & Søn, 1914.

Rivalry: Hofmoen vs. Løken

Urban-rural rivalry is part of the historical past. There seem to be two rivalries involved in this case: rural and urban rivalry, and rivalry between Hofmoen and Løken, the community which received the consolidated school.

Løken is a little larger than Hofmoen and has been, for a long time, the administrative center of the kommune with various significant facilities such as welfare, taxation, sheriff office, bank, drug store, doctor, service station, dairy, cafeteria, and a hotel. Consequently, people from Hofmoen need to go there frequently on business. In former days Hofmoen was often the center of community events, particularly when the military drill field was activated. In those days the whole of Høland met there, and it was at the very center of events in the community. But those days are gone, and it may be that Løken has become the immediate and very visible symbol of the larger, urban society with its rampaging technology and business - dominated ethos, the seat of power and "fatal" attraction for young people. During the school controversy it was held by some people from Hofmoen that their children would come under undesirable influences at Løken. They spoke of the lack of discipline and hinted darkly about "goings on" in that town.

There has existed a traditional rivalry between Hofmoen and Løken regarding sports and other matters. Many people we interviewed gave us the impression that the opposition to consolidation would not have been so strong if it had been a question of consolidating with Bjørkelangen, even though it was farther removed. Others would remark in a joking way, "One's neighbors are the worst"; a few others blamed Løken for Hofmoen losing its school, and seriously remarked that people at Løken were "power seekers" and "jealous."

Another story has it that when Hofmoen's community center was completed, the Youth Organization of Hofmoen offered the facilities to Løken every other Saturday for dancing, but, it was claimed, Løken was too proud to accept and continued to use their old hall. However, the attendance at Løken affairs was said to be so poor that many had to be cancelled. Finally, a deal was worked out whereby Løken's Youth Club rented the Hofmoen community house for some affairs.

Others relate tales of friction between young people of the two towns when they visited each other. Frequently the hosts felt themselves obliged to demonstrate their strength which resulted in fistfights between the two groups. The rivalry between the towns has been especially keen in relation to soccer.

A stranger is struck by the fact that these two communities, located only about $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles apart, have created parallel systems of organization. It would appear that Hofmoen has looked upon its well-developed organizational structure and cooperative actions as the ramparts behind which the people can repel threats to their integrity, and prevent themselves from being swallowed up by rival social systems.

Rivalry between groups contributes to conflict because it makes people conscious of differences. It solidifies groups at the same time that competing groups pose mutual threats to each other's goal attainment.

Rivalry: City vs. Country

Anti-urbanism has deep roots in America as well as in Norway. Anti-urbanism in American thought is well documented by Morton and Lucia White, who indicate how Jefferson, Emerson, William James, Santayana, and Dewey show evidence of anti-urbanism in various forms.[30] Vidich and Bensman found that the small-town dweller in "Springdale", N. Y. sees the urban society as corrupt, decayed, and crisis-filled; the city is regarded as a jungle of man's inhumanity to man, a "dog-eat-dog" world dominated by crime, dirt, filth, immorality, vice, corruption, disorder, and anti-Americanism. The people of Springdale saw themselves, on the other hand, as strong, simple, self-reliant, religious and moral, and capable of living affectionate and devoted family lives in a community where life is richly warm and filled with a wide variety of interchange, gatherings, and genuinely spontaneous and, above all, friendly gatherings.[31] All of this culminates in the belief, as expressed by a citizen of the town, "The goodness of America lies in the small town where life and nature meet to make for genuine living."

Anti-urbanism in Norway also has deep historical and political antecedents. During Norway's long union with Denmark (1380-1814) it was ruled from Copenhagen. The educated, rich, elite, officials and clergy were bred in cities and towns, educated in Denmark, and spoke a Danish dialect which became known as "Riksmaal." The majority of the Norwegian people lived in the country and were independent farmers or tenants who spoke peasant dialects called "Landsmaal."

When the farmers became politically strong, they demanded that their language also be considered an official language. As a result Norway today is saddled with two languages which means that it prints telephone books, official documents, and official forms in two different dialects, "Ny-Norsk" and Bokmaal. The effort to rid the Norwegian language of Danish influence goes on, with the language changing continually. This "Kultur-Kampf," is a phase of a class conflict which has been in process for generations, and which continues today. For example, in 1962 the head of the Norwegian weather reporting service on the state-controlled broadcasting system was not permitted to broadcast weather reports unless he pronounced snow as "snø" (Ny-Norsk), but he insisted he would never say "snø" but "sne" (Riksmaal). An assistant who was willing to say "snø" had to read the weather report. This event became known as the "case of the abominable snowman." In 1962, conservative urban students of a Gymnasium in Kristiansand marched and ceremoniously burned "Ny-Norsk" books which they were forced to study at school.

One of the "authorities" quoted by the people of Hofmoen to justify the then threatened strike action was Martin Strømnes. He expresses well the philosophy of the small school and the values of rural life.[32] He insists that human beings contain within themselves creative forces which must be developed in a home milieu and in the healthy natural rural environment. He cries out against ministers, chairmen of boards of education, and farmers who complain most about the flight to the city and the depopulation of the land, and yet take action which must tear the children up from their roots and from their homes and community environment, put them on wheels with a course charted for the large centers, and thereby lay the foundation for rootlessness, hobolife, and the taste for asphalt in their early years.[33] He claims that centralization not only separates children and their towns, parents and children, and school and home from one another, but also leads to the destruction of rural life and society (bondesamfunnet) in the first stages, and later of the whole society.[34] He recalled the Nazi occupation and abominations, and asserts that centralization will create a completely different society, a totalitarian type "that we have learned to hate with all our soul."[35] On the other hand, he praises the small schools in local communities as the best training ground for democratic ideas and attitudes.[36]

The rural dweller and citizens of small towns are aware that it is not their world which is calling the tune any more. On every hand are evidences of decline in power and importance. They may have seen one after another of the town's vital functions and institutions disappear--the general store, the church, the railroad station, and the movie house. They have seen the best of the young people leave the town and never come back, drawn to the big city and held there by the seemingly irresistible magnet of the metropolis which he may also consider to be the hotbed of all types of abominations. The radio, television, newspapers, and magazines of mass society bombard him with a constant stream of verbal and visual exhortations, propaganda, advertising, and the alarums of a turbulent world. He may therefore perceive the urbanized mass society as a grave threat.

Alienation

Under such circumstances and acerbated by the present conflict, one should expect many people of Hofmoen, like other rural folk, to show alienation, feelings of frustration, and helplessness in the grip of alien forces over which they have no control and which seem to threaten their most cherished values and ways of life. On the other hand, since Hofmoen is a small, homogeneous, closely-knit social system, one might expect a lack of alienation. But perhaps what needs to be determined is just which sub-system within the special action system these people are alienated from and which they are attached to. We tested these propositions by a series of questions and scales described below.

TABLE IX. Response of Hofmoen Sample to "Alienation" Items

N=100 data given in percentages

Item	Strongly Agree and Agree	Strongly Disagree and Disagree	Don't know	No response
108. There is little use in writing to public officials because they are often not interested in the problems of the average man.	45	13	38	4
109. Political candidates are usually controlled by political machines.	55	6	35	4
110. The general public is not qualified to vote on today's complex issues.	25	32	40	3
111. Politically elected representatives are usually pawns in the hands of special interests.	38	12	44	6
112. This world is run by the few people in power, and there is not much the little guy can do about it.	76	8	13	3
113. It has been my experience that what's going to happen will happen.	61	26	8	5
114. The "welfare state" tends to destroy individual initiative.	38	9	48	5
117. I feel the church is a very important agency for uplift in the world.	90	0	8	2
118. I regard the church as a harmful institution breeding narrow-mindedness, fanaticism and intolerance.	2	83	11	4

It is evident from the above table that the people of Hofmoen showed evidence of helplessness, fatalism, and alienation from the political institutions and processes of the large-scale society. Their feelings are perhaps best exemplified by their responses to item 112. Seventy-six per cent agreed and only eight per cent disagreed with the statement: "This world is run by the few people in power, and there is not much the little guy can do about it."

On the other hand, their attachment to religious institutions is clearly indicated by responses to item 117, "I feel the church is a very important agency for uplift in the world," with which 90 per cent agreed and none disagreed. Similarly, 83 per cent disagreed with item 118, "I regard the church as a harmful institution, breeding narrow-mindedness, fanaticism and intolerance.

The Alienation Scale

By means of the Guttman technique and using the UCLA computer analysis program* an Alienation Scale was developed. This six-item scale included items number 108, 190, 110, 111, 112, and 113 and has a coefficient of reproducibility of .91 and a marginal reproducibility of .74. Scores ranged from 2 to 18, and the mean score for the Hofmoen sample was 13.8. The distribution of scores is given in Table X.

TABLE X. Distribution of Alienation Scores of Hofmoen Respondents

N=100

Score	f
6	2
10	18
12	31
16	23
18	13

It will be seen that the distribution is skewed toward the upper end of the range, thus confirming the presence of a high degree of "alienation" as here measured. However, as the analysis of individual items indicated, it is essentially alienation from the institutions and the unidentified forces and powers of the larger social systems.

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*BMD06S-Guttman Scale Number 2, Part I. Version of Feb. 24, 1964. Health-Sciences Computing Facility, University of California, Los Angeles.

Rural vs. Urban Ideology

The well-developed anti-urbanism in the United States, the long history of urban-rural antagonism and class struggle, and the prolonged long-range conflict in Norway suggested to us the possibility that it would be possible to find among the people of Hofmoen a wide-spread anti-urban ideology which would be an important bond between community structural components, as well as meeting personality security needs. But while such ideology would increase the solidarity of the community, this very solidarity would tend to separate the people from and aggravate their relationship with the larger urbanized society which, through its functionaries, was trying to impose its will and decision on the krets. It was necessary to demonstrate that there was an anti-urban and pro-rural, anti-large scale society and pro-small-local community ideology among the people of Hofmoen, and that the opponents in the struggle held divergent views on pertinent and crucial matters. We developed two scales to test these tendencies: a Ruralism Scale and a School Localism Scale.

The Ruralism Scale

Respondents were asked to react to a series of statements which sought to elicit their attitudes to their own local rural community and its relation to the larger society. Respondents were given the following directions: "Here are some statements on which we would like to have your opinion. Please mark the statement which most nearly corresponds to your opinion -- either "strongly agree, agree, don't know, disagree or strongly disagree." These answers were then given arbitrary values from 1 to 5, with 5 indicating the strongest ruralist orientation.

The items for the scale were selected by several techniques usually employed for building scales by the criteria of internal consistency.

Scale value differences (S.V.D.) were computed by dividing the sample on the basis of the total score into an "upper" segment (rural) and a "lower" segment (urban). In this case we used upper and lower quartiles. The mean response value for each item for each segment was determined. The scale value difference of the item is then the difference between item means for upper and lower segments, and gives a rough measure of the relative differentiating power of items in terms of the total score criterion. The maximum possible scale value difference (M.P.S.V.D.) measures the best possible performance of an item. A somewhat more refined measure, the critical ratio (C.R.) relates the difference between item means for upper and lower segments to the standard error of the difference between item means, thus giving an indication of statistical significance in the relation of individual items to the total score criterion. The scale value difference ratio (S.V.D.R.) is essentially a performance efficiency measure which relates an item's performance on a given scale to its maximum potential differentiating power for the sample. It will be seen from Table XI that all items met the technical criteria for inclusion in a scale. Items 88 and 92 are the weakest items, but their critical ratios indicate greater than chance discriminating power and they were therefore retained. They would also seem to reveal the more extreme ideologies in a sample.

These techniques enable us to select ten items which satisfactorily met criteria for inclusion on a scale to measure the domain of ruralism; these items are:

88. Those who are in official positions in the administration of this area always do their best for the local people.

89. Those who are in top administrative positions have little practical knowledge of the school situations in local districts.

90. Everything considered, I think it is very desirable for children to grow up in the city.

91. Because cities tend to destroy many basic and important values, small towns should be strengthened in order to preserve our most precious values and traditions.

92. Almost all that is new and interesting originates in large cities.

93. If I were free to choose my place of residence, there is no doubt but that I would prefer the small town.

94. Most of the problems of our society originate in the big cities.

101. Because of poor schoolhouses and a lack of qualified teachers, the small rural schools are not able to prepare children for life in the modern society.

104. Agitation about school consolidation in this town has definitely shown that parents in no way have the influence and power I thought they had.

TABLE XI. Scale Value Difference, Maximum Possible Scale Value Difference, Scale Value Difference Ratio, and Critical Ratio of Ruralism Items Tested against Total Ruralism Scale Score Criterion

Item	S.V.D.	M.S.V.D.	S.V.D.R.	C.R.
87	1.27	1.81	0.70	5.13
88	0.69	1.92	0.36	2.31
89	1.73	2.42	0.71	5.30
90	1.43	1.80	0.79	5.91
91	1.23	1.54	0.80	5.26
92	0.81	2.42	0.37	2.36
93	1.00	1.00	0.96	11.13
94	1.23	1.92	0.64	4.53
101	1.54	2.31	0.67	5.40
104	1.58	1.88	0.83	6.98

An item having a significant critical ratio (above 2.00) discriminates between "ruralists" and "urbanites"; that is, an item with a high power of discrimination will tend to be anwered one way by a person inclined toward "rural" ideology and another way by individuals who favor "urban" ideology. The response to an item may or may not coincide with the true situation or reality, but reflects the respondent's bias or what he believes to be true.

Do the items of the scales actually indicate tendencies toward a favorable judgment about local rural communities and against large urban cities? It would seem that if one examines the sense of each statement a response to it would make such an indication (see Table XII). In other words, face-validity is apparent. However, the scale was administered to various groups: to representatives of the national bureaucracy or "bureaucratic leaders," to members of the kommune school board, to the Hofmoen kretse leaders, and to citizens of Hofmoen. One should expect that the bureaucratic leaders would have the lowest score (urbanites), the leaders of Hofmoen the highest, with the other two groups falling in between. This expectation was borne out; the national bureaucratic leaders had a mean score of 24.5, the leaders of Hofmoen kretse scored 39.4, members of the kommune school board 28.6, and the people of Hofmoen 36.31.

Reliability of the scale was tested by the split-half correlation method, using the Pearsonian product-moment coefficient of correlation, and the Spearman-Brown formula correction formula. A corrected split-half correlation of 0.80 was obtained. The scale is therefore reliable for group comparisons, and successive measurements of the same universe under like conditions should yield similar values.

As indicated, the items of the scale met the test of internal consistency. They also meet the requirements of a cumulative unidimensional scale; that is, can it be demonstrated that a person's attitude about rural-urban conditions here involved constitutes a universe of content which may be considered to be a single dimension? Using the computer program developed for Guttman Scale analysis at UCLA* we obtained a Coefficient of Reproducibility of 0.88 and a Minimal Reproducibility of 0.82 for the scale of ten items. Thus responses to the various items can be reproduced with an accuracy of 88 per cent from the total score. Since this coefficient was not quite as high as desired, the analysis was continued. Eliminating items 87, 89, 92, and 104 and retaining items 88, 90, 91, 93, 94, and 101 gave us a six-item ruralism scale with a coefficient of reproducibility of 0.92, and a minimal marginal reproducibility of 0.85. It would seem that our ten-item scale does, to a slight extent, contain some other elements besides a "ruralism" bias for this complete sample. From the nature of the items that had to be eliminated to raise the reproducibility index above 0.90, we suspect that it is a result of "rationality" of knowledgable persons' responses to these particular items. It can be said then that the modified Ruralism scale does reveal a pro-ruralism, anti-urbanism, unidimensional ideological factor.

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*See foot note on page 32.

TABLE XII. Responses of Hofmoen Sample to Selected Statements

N=100 (data given as percentages)

Item	Strongly Agree and Agree	Strongly Disagree and Disagree	Don't know	No Response
87. The local community should have the the right to manage its own affairs and make its own decisions.	81	5	12	2
90. Everything considered, I think it is very desirable for children to grow up in the city.	6	80	12	2
91. Because cities tend to destroy many basic and important values, small towns should be strengthened in order to preserve our most precious values and traditions.	85	3	10	2
93. If I were free to choose my place of residence, there is no doubt but that I would prefer the small town.	92	4	2	2
94. Most of the problems of our society originate in the big cities.	55	12	31	2
102. The small rural school is the best environment for creation of character and personality.	86	4	9	1

The School-Localism Scale

It is obvious that the universe of content for the Ruralism scale is quite general and, since we were interested in a particular kind of community conflict, i.e., that involving school reorganization, we felt it desirable to attempt to construct a scale having a more specific area of content. Such an effort should reveal an additional dimension of the ideological domain and enhance our chances of getting a scalable set of statements.

Perusal of American and Norwegian literature on school consolidation, as well as preliminary interviews, suggested a series of statements related to the school in the community and in the society. These were given to the Hofmoen respondents. The type of statement, directions, and responses called for were the same as for the ruralism scale. A scale was constructed employing the several techniques of the internal consistency method. This procedure yielded a "School Localism Scale" of ten items as follows:

95. The school in Hofmoen is an important community center and meeting place for the community.

96. Consolidation of the schools takes the children from the community, people follow, and soon the small community is deserted.

97. Consolidation of schools gives the students better chances to have friends of their own age.

98. Centralization of schools is undesirable because it tends to break the vital bonds between home and school, and between school and community.

99. Students from small rural schools are just as advanced as students from the large town and city schools.

100. It is just as economical to build and operate small rural schools as it is to build and operate large consolidated schools.

102. The small rural school is the best environment for creation of character and personality.

103. Even if consolidated schools are more effective in many ways, I prefer the small schools. The small schools have many desirable qualities which are more important than the advantages of large central schools.

105. The strife about the school consolidation has created a greater feeling of solidarity among the people of Hofmoen than there ever was.

106. There does not seem to have been any seriously detrimental results from combining the upper grades of Hofmoen's school with Løken school, and I think things are going to work out right after all.

The technical data for the scale building analysis is given in Table XIII.

TABLE XIII. Scale Value Difference, Maximum Possible Scale Value Difference, Scale Value Difference Ratio, and Critical Ratio of School-Localism Items Tested against Total Scale Score Criterion

Item	S.V.D.	M.S.V.D.	S.V.D.R.	C.R.
95	1.46	2.04	0.72	6.41
96	2.12	2.19	0.96	7.95
97	2.08	2.69	0.77	6.77
98	2.23	2.33	0.97	8.48
99	1.92	2.54	0.76	6.05
100	2.23	2.54	0.88	8.55
102	1.58	1.58	0.95	6.38
103	1.92	1.92	0.96	6.85
105	1.08	1.85	0.58	3.72
106	1.53	1.96	0.78	6.92

These data are very satisfactory and indicate that by using our items, individually and as a scale, we are capable of distinguishing between what the Norwegian called "small-school men" and "large-school" men.

Reliability tests by means of the split-half correlation method yielded a corrected coefficient of 0.92.

Besides the face validity indicated in the sense of the questions, additional evidence of validity was given by the scores obtained by characteristic groups which differed in the directions expected; thus, national bureaucratic officials had a score of 15.3, members of the kommune school board 23.6, citizens of Hofmoen 39.28, and the leaders of Hofmoen 42.57.

Unidimensionality was again tested by the Guttman Cornell method and the UCLA computer program mentioned above. A coefficient of reproducibility of 0.94 and a minimum marginal reproducibility of 0.88 were obtained. We can therefore be confident that the scale elicits responses reflecting attitudes (toward the school in relation to other social systems) which fall along a single dimension.

Ideological Differences in the Educational Action System

In this case we find representatives of three different reference groups involved in decision-making relative to the local school: the people of Hofmoen and their leaders, the Nordre Høland kommune school board, and the educational officials of the Norwegian Department of Church and Education. This is the School Action System which is significant for the explanation of conflict resulting from ideological differences.

The distribution of ideological scores within this action system is indicated in Table XV.

TABLE XIV. Responses of Hofmoen Respondents to Items of School Localism Scale

(Values given as percentages N=100)

Item No. and Description	Strongly Agree	Agree	Don't Know	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	No Response
95. The school in Hofmoen is an important community center and meeting place for the community.	78	10	8	3	0	1
96. Consolidation of the schools takes the children from the community, people follow, and soon the small community is deserted.	61	22	5	4	6	2
97. Consolidation of schools gives the students better chances to have friends of their own age.	18	27	19	14	20	2
98. Centralization of schools is undesirable because it tends to break the vital bonds between home and school and school and community.	72	12	9	2	4	1
99. Students from small schools are just as advanced as students from the large town and city schools.	7	8	27	21	36	1
100. It is just as economical to build and operate small rural schools as it is to build and operate large consolidated schools.	36	14	38	4	7	1
101. Because of poor schoolhouses and lack of qualified teachers the small rural schools are not able to prepare children for life in the modern society.	12	20	21	22	22	3

TABLE XIV. (Continued)

Item No. and Description	Strongly Agree	Agree	Don't Know	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	No Response
102. The small rural school is the best environment for creation of character and personality.	74	12	9	2	2	1
103. Even if consolidated schools are more effective in many ways, I prefer the small school. The small schools have many desirable qualities which are more important than the advantages of large central schools.	75	13	7	2	2	1
105. The strife about consolidation has created a greater feeling of solidarity among the people of Hofmoen than there ever was.	57	20	15	4	2	2
106. There does not seem to have been any seriously detrimental results from combining the upper grades of Hofmoen's school with the Løken school, and I think things are going to work out all right after all.	16	34	35	8	5	2

TABLE XV. Distribution of Scores on Ruralism and School Localism Scales of Total Sample*

Score	School Localism	Ruralism
15-19	4	0
20-24	3	4
25-29	5	7
30-34	15	21
35-39	21	44
40-44	38	27
45-50	21	2
Total	107	105**

*People of Hofmoen plus officials of national educational bureaucracy

**Two schedules were not usable for the Ruralism scale

It will be seen from the above table that the distribution is very skewed toward the upper end of the distribution; that is, the bulk of the sample had high Ruralism and high School Localism scores. The low-scoring urbanites and "big-school people" are officials of the Department of Church and Education or members of the Nordre Høland Kommune school board. The mean scores of the various comparisons are summarized in Table XVI.

TABLE XVI. Scores on Ruralism and School Localism Scales of Indicated Groups

Groups	Ruralism Scale	School Localism Scale
Leaders of Hofmoen	39.4	42.6
People of Hofmoen	36.3	39.3
Kommune School Board	28.6	23.6
National Bureaucratic Officials	24.5	20.0

A comparison of these tables reveals that 96 per cent of the people of the action system scored higher than the national bureaucratic officials on the Ruralism Scale, and 93 per cent of the action system scored higher on the School Localism Scale than did the national bureaucratic officials. It is possible that no conflict would ensue if the power positions of the conflicting groups and individuals were equal since it is hardly conceivable that about 5 per cent of an action system could hope to prevail over the other 95 per cent unless the 5 per cent felt their power position to be superior, regardless of their numerical inferiority.

V. SOCIAL STRUCTURAL FACTORS

We shall be concerned in this chapter with how the community's social structure contributed to the initiation and development of the conflict, and try to explain where the cleavage in the social structure appeared and why it appeared there. To accomplish this purpose, the various social systems involved and the structure of authority which binds them together and orders their functions must be determined. What are the characteristics and variations of the social structure which enhances or inhibits conflict? Coleman mentions four variations in the social organization of American communities which appear to be most crucial for the cause of community conflict. They are variation in "(1) identification with the community, (2) in the density of organizations and associations in the community, (3) in the distribution of participation among the citizens, and (4) in the interlocking of organizational membership."[37] We shall attempt to discover if these are also crucial in the Norwegian community.

The Social Systems

The internal social system of Hofmoen is comprised of those units of the community whose effective range is limited to Hofmoen; these will be designated as the primary community. The principal external or supra-community social system to which Hofmoen is related is Nordre Høland, which will be designated as the mediative symbiotic community system, and the Department of Church and Education, which is a national bureaucracy of the Norwegian state charged with the specialized task of the administration of church and school affairs according to policies laid down by the Norwegian parliament. The functional and power relations of these systems are treated in the following section.

Nordre Høland has a local government elected for four years at the regular election. Residents of the kommune vote for members of the national parliament from a list of candidates for Akershus fylke (or county). In the 1961 election Akershus elected four representatives from the Labor Party, two from Høyre (conservative), and one from the Center Party. The results of the election for the year 1962 were 1,109 votes for Labor, 448 for Center Party, 284 for Christian Peoples Party, 172 for Høyre (Conservative), 50 for Liberals (Venstre), 42 for the Socialistic Peoples Party, and 20 for the Communist party.

The Nordre Høland kommune (or township) has a government of 29 representatives which are selected in a separate election. In the 1959 election the Labor Party received 1,041 votes and had 16 representatives, Center Party received 451 and six representatives, the Peoples Christian Party received 262 votes and four representatives, and Høyre received 173 votes and two representatives.

The majority of the Labor party has been maintained in the township ever since World War II. The Labor party has therefore named the ordfører of the herred or kommune. The Ordfører is the chairman or administrative head of the local government and has great influence and power in the area. The executive committee of the herred (formannskapet) is chosen from one-fourth of the local government representatives. In Nordre Høland the executive committee is composed of four men from the Labor Party, one from the Center Party, one from the People's Christian Party, and one from the Conservative Party. The kommune government carries out many important functions through standing committees, the most important of these being probably the skolestyret which is the "board of education" for the kommune or herred. In addition, every kommune has its own executive committee governing land, health, sobriety, and juvenile welfare. The kommune executive committee also has available technical experts who are responsible for such functions as collection of taxes, registration and census, and roads. In other words, the kommune is the local effective administrative unit performing vital services for the community.

These local governing bodies were formerly much more independent than they are now, since the Storting (or National Parliament) and central bureaucracies promulgate laws and rules regarding education, health, and welfare which govern the operations of the local government. The Parliament has also adopted maximum and minimum tables for local taxation.

The government of the kommune is, in reality, even more controlled than the laws would indicate. Most of the expenses in the kommune, such as for schools and communication, are shared between the national state and the kommune, and subsidies given by the national state carry with them conditions imposed by the national state. The general trend has been for the kommunes to become more and more dependent on and controlled by the national state.

These political and administrative facts of life become important for our concern, since it is clear that the political party in power in the national and local governments can bring direct pressure to bear through the governmental administrative organs of the national and local bureaucracy as well as through political channels.

This observation is particularly true of education, as will become clear by an analysis of the system of educational administration. As indicated above, financial support of schools is divided between the national state and the kommune. Educational authority is also divided between state and kommune. The function of the local krets teachers and parents is primarily advisory, and, as will be seen, their authority and power are minimal.

Educational authority in Norway is centered in the Department of Church and Education (Kirke og Undervisningsdepartementet) which sees to it that the main policy lines for education as laid down by the Norwegian Storting are adhered to. The Department appoints school directors (Skoledirektører) for the counties (fylker). There is also an administrative agency for each country, (Fylkesskolestyret). The counties in turn are divided into educational administrative districts headed by a skoleinspektør appointed by the Department.

Each kommune has its own politically elected government (kommunestyre) which in turn appoints an executive committee for education (skolestyret) whose duty it is to concern itself with educational problems and to prepare cases before they reach the kommunestyre. The skolestyre is made up according to the political strength of the parties in the kommune. The teachers have the right to send a representative to this body who may participate in discussions, but may not vote. The same holds for ministers, in cases involving religious instruction in school. The kommune's Ordfører (chairman) is a member of all committees appointed by the kommunestyre. The skolestyre acts very much like boards of education in the United States, appointing teachers, deciding on construction of new schools and maintaining old ones, and adjudicating disputes arising within the system. Their decisions must, however, be ratified by higher authorities. The skolestyre is, in other words, the immediate superior authority for the local schools, alongside the skoleinspektør, in day-to-day operations of the system.

In addition to these agencies, each school in the kommune has its own local supervisory agency called skoletilsyn, sometimes called the "kretstilsyn" because it supervises the school of a "krets."* For Hofmoen the kretstilsyn was composed of five persons appointed by the kommune skolestyre, one appointed by the teachers group, and three appointed by parents at a parents' meeting. Tilsynet elects its own chairman. (In Hofmoen tilsynet was composed of Thoralf Olberg from the kommune skolestyre; teacher, Olav Fostaas representing the teacher group; Mrs. Jenny Frogner; truck owner Gunnar Aaserud; and Mrs. Arne Fosskaug, representing the parents of Hofmoen. The function of Tilsynet is to watch over the local school, to act as spokesman for the krets before higher authorities, and to call meetings of the krets.

When a problem involves a fundamental change in the structure of the educational system, such as the partial or complete closing of an attendance area or skolekrets, the law provides that the various agencies or groups in the structure shall be consulted. First the krets may air its opinions, and then the kommune skolestyre, after which the case will be taken up by the herrestyre or government of the kommune. The case then goes for review to the skoledirektør of the Department, and to the county (fylke) government, and finally ends up in the Department of Church and Education, which by law has the final decision.

Conflicting Expectations about Realms of Authority

It became very evident from documents and results of our interviews that conflicting expectations about realms of authority was a very important factor in the conflict. That the people of Hofmoen krets were surprised by their impotence is indicated by their strike maifesto sent to the skoledirektør. It said in part: "Since at all meetings which were held, there was a unanimous decision to keep the local school, we think it an extremely reckless step to take to move the school suddenly. Does the Herr Skoledirektør realize that only six members of Nordre Høland skolestyre agreed with this undertaking, and that none of these were from Hofmoen krets? All parents in Hofmoen krets are greatly angered by such treatment. We would like to ask: Are these not our children about which decisions are made? Have parents nothing to say? Should you not consider the desires of the parents and the krets?"[38] These sentiments were often repeated to us in interview situations. And one of the leaders stated in one of the meetings: "It is strange that the wishes of the krets are ignored."[1] The wishes were, of course, not ignored but had to be sacrificed to what educational authorities considered to be a greater good. On the other hand, the skoledirektør at a meeting laid down the law: "The action of the skolestyre last week to proceed with a policy which is not approved is most extraordinary; formally and legally the skolestyre has no such power."[1]

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*The word krets means, literally, a circle or group of people such as the family circle or a circle of friends or families, and admistratively corresponds most nearly to an attendance area, in the United States, and the kretstilsyn to an "official" PTA.

The stage was thus set for controversy. The krets believed it had certain authority which it did not really have; the educational authorities knew the krets did not have it from the beginning, but preserved the ambiguous situation and fiction of krets authority until the moment of truth when the source of power stood revealed, naked and unadorned with words, committee consultations, and resolutions. If the realm of authority of the various social systems involved in the action system had been clearly defined the controversy might never have developed, but if the function of krets authority had not been nurtured the interest and concern of the krets for its school might have been much less than it had been for many years. This is the dilemma that is found by school administrators in the United States as well. They want parent and community interest and participation in decisions affecting the school, but as this concern grows groups will assume and expect power which is not recognized by the school administrators. Just how responsive should school administrators be to citizens' wishes? In Hofmoen the bureaucratic officials recognized the wishes of the people, but the values of educational officials and efficient and rational administration, in the final analysis, took precedence because the bureaucrats honestly felt the people of Hofmoen were in error and were reacting irrationally and emotionally in wishing to retain their school, and also because the authority structure favored the bureaucratic sub-system.

The Krets -- the Primary Community

A krets is the smallest unit of the Norwegian educational bureaucracy. It corresponds most nearly to an attendance district in American educational administration, having somewhat the same function as a Parent Teacher Association. Hofmoen Krets is such an administrative unit, but more significantly, Hofmoen, as will be seen, is also a social system, a true community in a sociological sense.

The literal translation of the word krets is a "circle," usually meaning a circle or clique of people small enough to have primary face-to-face social relations with each other. Hofmoen is such a primary group, and in this section we shall attempt to lay bare the nature and detail of the bonds of cohesion which enabled this social system to evidence such striking solidarity in the conflict situation.

We asked the question: "We should like to have an expression of feeling about Hofmoen. With which of the following statements do you agree?

1. For me Hofmoen is the best place to live. (74)
2. Not everything is perfect here, but all in all, Hofmoen is a good place to live. (23)
3. Hofmoen is a poor place to live. (1)
4. I can't get away from here fast enough. (2)

The number after each statement indicates the percentage of respondents choosing that particular statement as representing their sentiments; thus only three per cent would seem to have a negative attitude to the community.

We also asked, "Are there any traditions and customs that you feel are unique for Hofmoen? Forty-one per cent mentioned that they thought Hofmoen had a closer, more unified, more effective community. When we inquired if they were for or against the action taken by Hofmoen, that is, the protest and threats to strike, 87 per cent were for it and only 7 per cent against the action, while 6 per cent did not express themselves. As mentioned above, 332 adults out of a total population of some 600 signed the strike petition and in meeting after meeting the Hofmoen krets voted unanimously to resist the authorities and maintain the local school.* On the other hand, there were indications that the Hofmoen people felt themselves somewhat apart from the larger social systems of which they were a part. It is clear that the alienation demonstrated to be present was an alienation from the larger systems and not from Hofmoen. That many in Hofmoen felt they had not been justly treated by other governmental units is indicated by the people's response to the question: "Do you think that Hofmoen's interests were adequately protected by the township (kommune), by the county (fylke), or by Parliament or the Department? The results are indicated in Table XVII below.

TABLE XVII. Responses of Hofmoen Sample to Question: Do you think Hofmoen interests were adequately protected by various governmental units?

Responses	Governmental Unit		
	Township	County	Department
Yes	22	13	16
No	49	32	34
Don't know	29	55	50

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*As early as February 6, 1961, all 109 at the meeting of Hofmoen krets voted to maintain the local school.

The considerable negative attitude toward the larger systems and the alienation from them is evident. The people thus identified themselves strongly with Hofmoen and to a large extent were neutral about or rejected the other communal systems and the other systems involved in the special action system, with the primary system demonstrating monolithic solidarity. We shall now try to uncover the bases of this solidarity.

Informal Primary Associations

The results of our interviews show clearly that the primary bonds of kinship and neighborhood are strong in Hofmoen. In reply to the question, "Where do those with whom you associate most live?" 87 per cent replied "Hofmoen," 7 per cent "Hofmoen and Nordre Høland," 5 per cent "elsewhere in the kommune," and only one per cent said they "associated most with people outside." Seventy-three per cent associated most with persons living within two kilometers (1.2 mi.), and none associated most with people living beyond nine kilometers (5.4 mi.) Only five per cent of the respondents said that they had no relatives in Hofmoen. Respondents replied to the question: "With whom do you associate most?" as follows: with relatives 30, neighbors 38, other friends and combinations of relatives and neighbors 20, and with others inside and outside the community, 12 per cent.

Voluntary Associations

This tightly knit group of kinfolk and neighbors is, in addition, related in various voluntary associations. Of these, Momoen's Idretts og Ungdomslag* (The Athletic and Youth Organization) is probably the largest, with some 60 members of both young and older people. The youth are most active while the older adults administer the organization and help it along. The organization arranges a dance in the community center every other Saturday. A couple of times each month Norsk Bygdekino (Norwegian Village Films) comes and shows movies. In addition, other programs are scheduled there from time to time; e.g., special meetings, bazaars, anniversary celebrations, and occasionally a musical review with local performers. When such reviews are staged, the performance is well attended by Hofmoen's people. This athletic and youth organization also arranges many sports events, with competition between Hofmoen people and between Hofmoen teams and those of other villages. Both Hofmoen and Løken have their own soccer teams and soccer fields, and the Hofmoen association has even taken on the responsibility of arranging a match for the Norwegian national championship.

Momoen* Vel is a welfare organization which works to improve conditions generally at Hofmoen, as does the sewing club Hygga. The Norwegian word hygga does not really have an English equivalent, but essentially it means comfort, snugness, or coziness. It is an organization of women, probably the more well-to-do women of Hofmoen, who meet in each other's homes, drink coffee, and undertake projects for the benefit of the local community. It was this organization, for example, which made a large beautiful flag for Hofmoen school to use for the 17th of May parade.

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*Hofmoen is also known as Momoen locally.

In addition, Hofmoen has many religious organizations which meet in the local meeting house, particularly when traveling preachers come to town. They also meet in the homes of the various members. Hofmoen indremisjon is affiliated with the fundamentalist Lutheran Laymen's Association; the town has a division of the Norwegian Heathen Mission for Africa, one of the Norwegian Laymen's Mission, and also of Hofmoen Misjonssamband, formerly called the China Mission. Nearly all these associations are predominantly for women, but another religious association, Unges Haab (Youth's Hope), a former youth association, has some masculine participation.

Hofmoen's Association for the Blind is affiliated with the Norwegian Association for the Blind. In addition the krets has a Nursing Association which is a division of Nordre Høland's Meninghedspleie. This association works with the nursing association of Løken and Hemnes to raise funds for the salary of a community nurse. Many of Hofmoen's people are also members of Sanitetsforeningen at Løken, an organization resembling the Red Cross.

Furthermore, Hofmoen has its own brass band under the direction of the school's teacher, an executive committee for the meeting house, and a Sunday school.

The most active vocational association is Skog og Land (Forest and Land) and, as is true of the other organizations, this is a local chapter of a national organization. There is also a wage earners' association affiliated with Bygningsarbeiderforbundet (construction workers' association) and Transportarbeiderforbundet (transport workers' assoication). Those who commute to Oslo or Lillestrøm for work are usually members of the various unions at their places of employment.

Of the owners and managers associations, Bondelaget and Småbrukerlaget (Farmers and Small Farmers' Associations) are probably the most important, but Lastebileierforeningen (Truck Owners' Association) and Kjøpmannsforeningen (Businessmen's association) are also represented. Furthermore, local organizations of the main national political parties are also found in Hofmoen.

What was the role of these organizations in the school conflict? When we asked which persons or organizations worked with the school consolidation problem we got the following replies: 20 per cent said "all," 54 per cent said the "krets tilsyn" (local P.T.A.), 19 per cent had no response, and 7 per cent did not know. Except for Tilysnet, the organizations did not seem to have become involved as organizations, but there is no doubt (as indicated by our interviews) that all the meetings of these organizations acted as facilitating agents for the informal discussion of the problem and the mutual reinforcement of the community's almost unanimous decision to retain the school. Furthermore these organizations acted as instrumentalities which helped to create and maintain the community's so strikingly demonstrated cohesion.

It is within this primary system that formal, informal, and kinship associations make their influence felt. The social facilitation, face-to-face discussions, and the example of family, friends, and neighbors have been shown to be more efficient in communication, influence, and persuasion than formal channels in interaction.[39]

Organizational Participation

One way of gauging the impact of these organizations is to find out what proportion of the people of the community know of their existence. The following table gives this information in terms of categories of organization:

TABLE XVIII. Percentage of Hofmoen Respondents Who Could Name Indicated Number and Types of Organizations in Hofmoen

No. of Organizations known	Type of Organization					
	Religious	Purely Local	Trade Assn.	Welfare Assn.	Owners' Assn.	Political
0	25	0	0	0	0	0
1	17	35	74	40	73	85
2	14	32	20	36	24	14
3	18	20	6	20	3	1
4	14	11	-	4	-	0
5	10	-	-	-	-	0
6	2	-	-	-	0	0
no data	0	2	0	0	0	0
	100	100	100	100	100	100

It would appear from the above tabulation that the community is small enough that a fairly large proportion of its people are aware of the existence of various kinds of organizations. But what of actual participation? We sought to answer this question by a study of organizational membership, intensity of participation in associations, and the type of organizations participated in by the respondents. Forty-three per cent were members of no organization; 39 per cent were members of one organization; 13 per cent belonged to two associations, and only 5 per cent had joined three organizations.

The intensity of participation was measured by an index derived by giving arbitrary weights of one for membership only, two if respondent was a member and paid dues regularly, three for going to meetings, and four if he served as an officer of the association. A total intensity-of-participation score was derived by adding the weights earned for each item. Scores ranged from 0 to 9. Forty-three per cent had scores of 0. The modal score of 6 indicating membership, dues-paying, and going to meetings was achieved by 20 per cent; 18 per cent achieved scores of 3, indicating membership and dues-paying; and 12 per cent showed scores of 8 or above, indicating participation in every way, including holding office in the association.

The most frequently reported membership was in religious organizations, with 26 per cent of the respondents reporting such participation. Membership in other types of voluntary associations were as follows: local organizations and owners' Associations, 16 per cent each; craft associations, 13 per cent; welfare organizations, 12 per cent; and political organizations, 9 per cent.

It would appear that the extensive web of neighborhood, clique, and kinship interaction systems is further fortified by a well-developed system of voluntary associations organized for the furtherance of special interests. We sought the opinions of Hofmoen people concerning their systems of voluntary association and asked this question: "Do you think there are too many or too few clubs and organizations in Hofmoen?" The replies in terms of percentages were as follows: just right, 58; too few, 7; too many, 9; and don't know, 26 per cent. Some felt there were too many for the small population of the village.

Cleavages Among Organizations

Cooperation and/or conflict among organizations in a community have obvious implications for a conflict situation. According to our respondents, there seems to be a remarkable lack of opposition among Hofmoen's voluntary organizations. In response to the question: "Can you name some organizations that are opposed to each other?" 96 per cent saw no disagreements between organizations. Only four persons were aware of some tension between organizations of land owners and wage earners and between associations of farmers and workers. When asked to name some organizations that worked together, 48 per cent were able to name some organizations, while 52 per cent could not. The organizations most often mentioned as working together were the various Christian associations or mission societies. Also mentioned as cooperating were youth and sports organizations (Undoms og Idrettslaget), and "Hygga" occasionally. Associations of farmers were said to cooperate with each other, as were those of wage workers such as Arbeiderlaget and Fagforeningen.

There appears to be some polarization of interaction, the "Christians" centering their activities in the religious associations and meeting house, and others in the Youth and Athletic Association and the community center. It would appear that there is little antagonism between these factions, and that there is remarkably little conflict in the community, particularly on the school issue. Considerable cooperation between the voluntary associations of Hofmoen is quite evident. One should therefore expect that in a conflict situation there would be little opportunity for an opponent of Hofmoen to divide the community or for cross-pressures to develop which would weaken the solidarity of the community in the face of outside pressures and threats.

Class

In any community there is bound to be stratification based on class, and if distances between classes are large, divergent class interests may lead to disruptive community cleavages.

We asked the question: "Are there any families or groups in Hofmoen who think they are better than others or who are thought to be better than others?" Eighty-seven per cent answered "no"; seven per cent "yes"; five per cent would not answer the question, and two per cent said that there was great equality in Hofmoen and while there had been some families in the old days who thought themselves much better than others, this was not true any more.

The lack of sharp class differentiation is also evidenced by the occupational structure: of our male respondents, 38.5 per cent were farmers, 15.8 per cent were carpenters or construction workers. Truck drivers and/or truck owners constituted 3.5 per cent; 3.5 per cent were self-employed; 10.5 per cent were industrial workers, 8.8 per cent were white-collar workers, 5.3 per cent had miscellaneous occupations, and 14.0 per cent were retired.

The distribution of income is indicated in Table IV, page 14. The average assessed income in Norway was about 11,000 kroner, and in rural districts of Norway about 9,500 kroner. It will be seen that there are few people with large incomes. The largest group, 63.8 per cent had incomes of less than 10,000 kroner and more than 90 per cent had incomes of less than 15,000 kroner ($2,114).

As might be expected, an analysis of land holdings shows the same general pattern as indicated in Tables XIX and XX.

TABLE XIX. Size of Farms of Hofmoen Respondents

N=100

Size	Per Cent
1 to 5 daa	44
6 to 60 daa	19
61 to 120 daa	28
120 daa and over	8
no land	1
Total	100

Note: 1 acre = 4.047 daa or dekaar

TABLE XX. Size of Non-Productive Holdings (Utmark)

Size	Per Cent
None	57
1 to 25 daa	13
26 to 125 daa	14
More than 125 daa	16
Total	100

Eighty-four per cent of the families owned their own farms, nine per cent were tenant farmers, four per cent rented their farms out to be worked by others, and two per cent neither owned nor worked the land. It is clear then that Hofmoen is predominantly a community of independent farmers who own their own farms, with a smaller number of industrial workers, and few professional and white collar workers. The lack of class consciousness and differentiation is understandable under these circumstances. The class structure, as well as institutions, kinship and voluntary association, present a tightly knit web of relationships which act as bonds that tie the community subsystem together and are the basis for community solidarity. This solidarity is very strong since no cleavages with relation to the conflict issues weaken it.

Key Statuses and Role

Community conflict can hardly be understood without the analysis of key positions in the special systems involved in the event.[40] Social status refers to the location or position of a person or actor in the community's social system. Thus "father," "mother," and "sister" are social statuses within the kinship system, and "teacher," "superintendent," and "mayor" are positions within the community social system. Every position has attached to it a set of expectations or evaluative standards of behavior which the incumbent should fulfill. A role is a set of expectations of an incumbent of a particular position. Gouldner considers that in any study of group tension systems of statuses occupied by group members must be charted.[41] We shall limit our analysis to those statuses and roles which seem particularly crucial for an understanding of the conflict event.

A person who considers himself, and is considered by others, to be a member of the primary community is expected to show loyalty and commitment to the community and considers membership as a value _per se_. This loyalty transcends many other loyalties, and the member is expected to react to a threat to the community by defending it, regardless of what other groups he may belong to. The commitment is reinforced, for the true member knows that his welfare is inextricably bound up with that of the community, and he is tied to the community by an intricate web of loyalties, kinship, neighborhood, friendship, and traditional and functional bonds. That Hofmoen was composed of many true members is indicated by the preceding analysis of the social structure and by the fact that 74 per cent of the respondents felt Hofmoen was the best place to live, and only two per cent would move away.

The community member considers himself a defender of the faith and heritage of the community; he realizes that his children are the bearers of the local culture, and that only through them will it endure. Community members, therefore, feel they should have the power to make decisions concerning their children's education. Eighty-one per cent of the respondents agreed to the statement: "The local community should have the right to manage its own affairs, and make its own decisions," and Hofmoen krets petitioned higher authorities as follows: "Are not these our children that you make decisions about? Do not we as parents have anything to say? Should you not have taken account of the opinions of the parents and the krets? As parents we know our children, and therefore know what is best for them regarding their health and education."* Clearly here is a conflict of expectations with regard to the role of parent-community-members and the role of the skoleinspektør within the educational action system.

The skoleinspektør is the local representative of the final educational authority, the Department of Church and Education of the Norwegian state. In some ways his role is quite analogous to that of the American school superintendent, but unlike the superintendent the inspektør holds a position in the bureaucratic structure of the Department and is, in the final analysis, answerable to the authority structure of the bureaucracy rather than the primary community system. L. A. Cook points out that teachers and school superintendents in the United States find themselves in the role of "the stranger" as defined by Simmel and also by Park and Burgess. In this view the "stranger" is a potential wanderer owning neither land or property and hence mobile and restless because he can go at will. Since he was not reared on local traditions, he can be detached from them and view them objectively. To a large extent he is isolated from the people around him, yet shares their lives and purposes. Coming from the outside and due to return there, he brings new ideas and new action patterns which concern their highest values, their children and way of life.[42]

Similarly Gouldner uses the term "powerful stranger" to describe people whose expectations were difficult to gauge because they are strangers, but nevertheless important to know, because they are powerful."[43] Like the superintendent in the U.S., the skoleinspektør of Hofmoen found himself in the social role of the stranger; he came from the outside, did not live at Hofmoen, and was not integrated into the local social life and gossip chains. He was an employee of the state who would probably be transferred some day; he had been socialized in a different part of Norway and returned there on vacation; he had probably not internalized local traditions; and, as the scale analysis and

*Petition to the Skoledirektør of Feb. 5, 1962.

interview data indicated, he differed markedly from the local people on some crucial issues. He was, unlike the American superintendent, a "powerful stranger" because he was the local representative of the ultimate power in the system dealing with the school. It was against the skoleinspektør that some of the strongest aggression and vituperation were directed. Similar aggression was directed against the chairman of the kommune board of education or herred skolestyre who also was not a member of the Hofmoen primary community and also a "powerful stranger." Our attitude scales indicate that the skoleinspektør was oriented to the bureaucracy rather than to the primary community in terms of what he considered to be valid role expectations for his position.

Leadership and Power Structure

"Leadership is a complex process whereby a relatively small number of individuals in a collectivity behave in such a way that they effect (or effectively prevent) a change in the lives of a relatively large number."[44] Max Weber defined "power" as the chances of "a man or group to realize their own will," even against opposition.[45] We were interested in determining the structure of leadership and power in Hofmoen and their influence on the conflict event.

Three principal approaches have been used to study leadership and "power" in communities in the United States: the "reputational," "participation," and "position." Each seems to yield a different set of leaders and power figures when used in different cities.[44] We therefore used three approaches in the study of leadership in Hofmoen.

Since nearly all of Hofmoen's people agreed that the school strife was the most important event of the year in Hofmoen, one should expect that this event would bring leadership to the surface. Spokesmen for Hofmoen appeared from time to time at the various meetings as the crisis developed; indeed it was dramatized by Ordfører Engebretsen and Thorolf Olberg taking a walk from the kommune skolestyre when the vote went against keeping the school at Hofmoen. In addition, the teacher, Olav Fostaas, was highly regarded by all parents and assumed some leadership in the initial stages of the conflict before cross-pressures silenced him. Mrs. Jenny Frogner, wife of builder Henrik Frogner, was very active throughout, as was truck driver and truck owner Gunnar Aaserud. Thorolf Olberg, Henrik Frogner, and Gunnar Aaserud were members of Nordre Høland herredstyre; Aaserud succeeded Olberg as chairman of Tilsynet of Hofmoen krets. The two persons who signed the strike manifesto sent to school authorities were Thoralf Olberg and Jenny Frogner. It would appear that these people were leaders by virtue of formal positions within the structure, as well as by their activities in the decision-making process.

Would a reputational study using a sample of Hofmoen people as respondents uncover the same leaders that were uncovered during participation. To resolve the problem we asked the following question:

"Let us suppose that you are responsible for some undertaking that is important for the whole community. To which persons would you to for advice and help so things would go smoothly and successfully? Taking everything into consideration, who in the community would be most effective to achieve a decision that most would accept?"

In response to this question, 38 per cent said they could or would not name anyone, 13 per cent named Ordfører Engbretsen, 27 per cent gave combinations Engebretsen, Olberg, Frogner, and Aaserud, 8 per cent named other individuals living in Hofmoen, and 13 per cent made general statements without naming specific persons.

In response to the question: "Is there anyone in Hofmoen who is particularly influential?" 46 per cent said they could not or would not answer the question, 4 per cent said "yes," and one "no," 3 per cent named Engebretsen and 35 per cent Olberg. The remainder made general statements of various kinds, naming no one or refusing to answer the question. Such a question apparently went against their egalitarian values, and feelings of many seem to be expressed by the man who replied in answer to this question, "All are alike; it's difficult to name anyone, they are all equally able and equally stupid."

It would seem then, that if any could be named as leaders on the basis of this approach they would be Olberg and Engebretsen. The three approaches, participation, position, and reputation, yielded essentially the same set of leaders who in Freeman's terms may be designated as "effectors" and "activists." This community is apparently too small for the classic "institutional leaders," the heads of large institutional organizations who are themselves not active in community affairs, but who lend prestige or legitimize solutions and act through underlings. It may be that in small communities such as Hofmoen with a relatively simple social structure there is only one kind of leader -- one who possesses the attributes of effectors and activists, but not the power of the "institutional leaders" found in more complex communities.

There seem to be four bases of influence of the leaders, i.e., position, kinship, voluntary organizational work, and native ability. All of them had more than 25 relatives in Hofmoen, all had been active and held offices either in the religious organizations or in Momoen Vel (Hofmoen welfare organization) or Idetts og Ungdomslaget (Sport and Youth organization), and all had been involved in school affairs in one way or another.

We have seen that Hofmoen is a primary community, a type designated by Tönnies as Gemeinschaft and described by him as depending on values, friendship, kinship and neighborliness for its social bonds. These social ties contrast with the "rational will" characteristic of the other type of community designated by him as Gesellschaft.[46] It is therefore natural that power should here be based on possession of the attributes of a Gemeinschaft community rather than on the basis of an Gesellschaft type. Economic dominants, for example, were not the leaders, because no person or group in the community controlled access to wealth, income, or jobs. Engebretsen's position of influence derived from his political post and his relations with the various religious organizations. Olberg, Frogner, and Gunnar Aaserud were very active in important voluntary associations such as Momoen's Vel and Idetts og Ungdomslaget. Ideologically speaking, these local leaders scored higher than the general population of the town in both the Ruralism and the School Localism scales, and considerably higher than the bureaucratic officials.

Except for Engebretsen, their influence, however, did not extend beyond the primary community of Hofmoen. Whatever power Engebretsen might have exercised on behalf of Hofmoen was nullified because of his close association with the Labor Party which controlled the national and local government and which made the policy executed by the educational authorities of the Department of Church and Education. The real legal and fiscal power rested at the national and kommune level of organization where the influence and power of the local leaders was not effective.

Interlocking Organizational Membership, Cross-Pressure, and Role Conflicts

If a person is a member of various groups whose attitudes to an issue in a community are at variance, he may be pulled in so many directions that he is immobilized and withdraws from the controversy. The density of organization, differences in attitudes of groups, and interlocking of associational membership, according to cross-pressure theory, facilitates cross-pressuring and minimizes the conflict because the conflict may be drawn off piecemeal within the various associations before it reaches the community level. On the other hand, if various groups, cliques and organizations are of one mind and unified, all conflict is shifted to the level of the community itself.[47]

Our analysis of the organizational structure and memberships indicate that the density of organizations in Hofmoen and multiple membership were enough to create cross-pressure, but no cross-pressuring developed because all organizations and individuals were of the same mind on this issue. Thus the attitudes of the people of Hofmoen were constantly reinforced and not attentuated by their informal, kinship, and associational memberships. The intensity of feeling and conviction became cumulative and grew within Hofmoen until the pressure on any remaining opposition and neutrals become overwhelming.

The effect of cross-pressure was however shown on two Hofmoen champions who, because of their positions, could have aided Hofmoen in retaining its school, but who were effectively neutralized by their multiple membership and conflicting roles in various sub-systems of the special-action system. The most powerful political figure in the community was the Ordfører or the executive administrator of the herred or kommune. It was his action of taking a walk from the meeting of the herred skolestyre, or board of education, which brought the school fight into the open and dramatized it. It will be remembered that the Ordfører owes his position to the political party, in this case the Labor Party, and he is also a member of the kommune system, since he is elected by Nordre Høland herredstyre for a term of two years. He was also a resident of Hofmoen, the primary system. After his initial outburst in behalf of Hofmoen and after a caucus of the local Labor Party in the kommune, the Ordfører, meaning literally speaker, ceased to speak on the issue, appointed a varamand or substitute to participate in the various meetings and remained quiet until one of the last meetings when he got up and said, "Now that the case has finally been decided by higher authorities there is nothing more to talk about. But, as has been said, I am very satisfied that we may keep our smaaskole (grades 1 - 3) and I will vote for it."[48] The local teacher similarly was very outspoken indeed in the beginning, in public, about wanting to keep the Hofmoen school. But he, though considering himself a member of the primary system, was also a member of the educational bureaucracy which defined his rights, duties, responsibilities, and prescribed his role in the authority system of the bureaucracy. He soon fell publicly silent. At the last meeting, like the Ordfører, the teacher adopted the role of honest broker and peacemaker between the conflicting systems within which both occupied conflicting positions, saying that there is a great need now for peace and quiet so the children may have a chance to pursue their education.[48]

Interpretative Summary

Human group life cannot be sustained without sets of ideas and norms and the conviction that they are true and meaningful in relation to reality; hence the importance of values, belief systems, and ideology discussed in the last chapter. Values, however, retain their vitality only by continuous exercise in the dynamics of group life; hence the importance of structured interaction and relationships.

Social organizations come into being when persons perceive the necessity to join forces to achieve goals, or to make a value or an ideology prevail in the competition of the market-place of ideas. The central values and norms of the community are thus reflected in associations devoted to the furtherance of religion, education, community welfare, politics, vocations, sports, and cultural activities.

A community, in terms of structural functional system analysis, may be considered to be a system of social systems, that combination of social units which perform the major social functions and which are spatially contingent. Local units or subsystems of the total community system exhibit dual structural interconnected patterns of relationships, what might be called Hofmoen's internal and external patterns.

Hofmoen is the primary community system because it achieves its coherence and solidarity through a high component of kinship, primary social interaction, custom, sentiment, and a value system and ideology which at important points are at variance with those of other systems to which it is related. It has no formal structure of authority or power, no board of directors or officers, and its subsystems are not systematically coordinated in a formal administrative pattern such as that of a business or governmental organization. Its functions are diffused rather than focused and particularized. Its functions involve production, distribution, consumption, socialization, social participation, social control, recreation, religion, and mutual support. It has personality-supporting functions, functions giving self-esteem and providing self-orientation, and psychological security.

Nordre Høland is a combination of several primary community systems such as Hofmoen. More precisely it is a collection of some of the specialized units of the primary social systems, and of some administrative bureaus of the Norwegian state. This is the area of impact between the primary community system and the bureaucracy of the national state, and it is therefore no accident that the conflict raged hottest in the meetings of the Nordre Høland skolestyre. It is a different kind of system altogether from the primary one, with cohesion that differs in kind and extent. It has many specific specialized functions, such as control of land use, welfare, health, roads, sobriety, and juvenile welfare, its cohesion depends fundamentally on the performance of specialized tasks of limited nature rationally pursued. Because of the mediating nature of its role between state and local community, and the organic nature of its specialized functions, we shall refer to it as the mediating-symbiotic community system.

The Department of Church and Education is a bureaucracy of the Norwegian State charged with the specialized task of the administration of church and school affairs according to the policies laid down by the Storting or Parliament. Like all bureaucracies, it pursues goals limited to its rather narrow field of operations, impersonally, rationally, and in accordance with written rules and regulations, in the interest of the national state. It is highly centralized with authority flowing down and information going up the heirarchical structure of well-defined and deliniated functional roles. Its representative in the primary community is the skoleinspektør of the district who reported to and is under the authority of the skoledirectør of the fylke or county, and he in turn is under the direct control of the head of the department who in turn is under the authority of the government.

These diverse social systems, because of the exigencies created by the conditions and needs of the educational institution in a modern world, are brought together in what we shall call a specialized action system. Specialized action systems are composed of persons and groups organized for the achievement of a rather limited specific purpose. In this case the action system sought the achievement of the best possible education and will be referred to as the educational specialized action system.

In periods of rapid technological, social, and cultural change, when social systems with diverse goals and needs and with different sets of social roles are brought together within one action system to meet new needs and expectations, conflict situations are bound to arise. The severity of the conflict will depend on the degree of divergence between the goals and needs of the various social systems brought together. If conflict is to be minimized it is necessary to recognize the systems involved as well as the nature and intensity of their needs and goals, and then to effect a reconciliation of differential demands.

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VI. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Our aim has been to search out correlates of the social process of conflict within a type of spatially contingent social systems commonly designated by the generic term "community." We sought to discover the functional interdependence, relevance, and meaning of a comprehensive array of factors as variables related to a specific type of event, school centralization, and consolidation. We sought these meanings and basic relationships on a cross-cultural basis because our aim was also to test the generality of the relationships, to see if the factors involved were operative within different social, cultural, and organizational contexts. We found important differences but also a high degree of generality; these will be described in terms of some theoretical propositions which seem to hold in both societies.

Our approach was characterized as event analysis and described as the application of survey technique using a schedule, scale building, systematic sampling, and probability statistics within the holistic approach of the community study method.

Theoretical Summary

Results from research on American communities and findings from the study of the event within the matrix of factors in a Norwegian community show that several levels of community life are inextricably involved in the event, the ecological, historical, psychological, ideological, and social structure. We require sets of concepts which describe the basic factors involved and statements which relate these concepts to each other and which reveal the relevance and meaning of critical correlates of this type of community conflict. Different series of data which are most often organized in such diverse theoretical systems as culture, personality, ecology, and social structure must be combined within a single coherent theoretical frame of reference.

Psychological Factors and Personality Needs

King's study of the reorganization process in the United States[49] revealed that psychological factors are strongly influential as impeding forces in the process of school district reorganization. And Campbell, after reviewing studies of reorganization in four school districts in Ohio, came to this conclusion: "These data seem to support the proposition that, while facts about curriculae offerings, pupil service, school plant facilities, and relative costs are important considerations, even more important are personal feelings and the influence of friends and neighbors."[50] Alford speaks of the depth of feeling generated by school redistricting in California, citing letters to newspapers which warn of the "creeping menace of unification" and which exhorted people to "fight this thing which is destroying our local autonomy with all our power. We of Avery, Murphys and Copperopolis who are about to disappear behind the iron curtain cry out: 'Carry out the fight'".[51] These sentiments echo faithfully those expressed by the people of Hofmoen in speech and print.*

Fitzwater, on the basis of reorganization studies in eight widely separated states, finds that an amazing amount of objection actually resulted from emotiona reluctance rather than from an objective consideration of advantages and disadvantages of reorganization.[5]

Emotional obstacles to reorganization were noted by Blikre in North Dakota; where it is expressed as fear of change in culture and social settings, antagonism between rural and town residents, fear of deterioration of the local community, fear of losing the school, fear of loss of local control, fear of central control, fear of loss of position and status.[21] Edgar found similar fears expressed in Massachusetts.[52] Kreitlow, on the basis of research and experience in rural Wisconsin, found a fear of urban values and loss of identification with the local community to be obstacles to reorganization; and, in another community in the same state, Jenson found that fear of losing identity was an important obstacle.[53]

Emotional reactions largely impervious to rational appeals would seem to be a characteristic concomitant of school reorganization conflict in different communities at various times in various parts of the United States as well as in Norway. What is the basis of this emotional reaction and these fears? It is not enough merely to know that feelings and emotions are important, for to deal with them we must know why they are so vital. We shall, therefore, attempt, on the basis of American and Norwegian data, to state some generalizations in terms of personality needs, the requirements of social systems, and the situations induced by rapid social change.

Two basic personality needs, self-esteem and self-orientation seem to be the basis of the great number of fears, emotionality, and irrational behavior which are often found.

With regard to self-esteem, Kluckhohn and Murray have noted that, while there are many facets of human personality, the most important is an individual's conception of himself; and furthermore that the "self system tends to exert an overall control over all the needs of the individual, biological or otherwise, any serious disturbance of which control may result in varying degrees of anxiety."[54] They also stress that one of the important establishments of a personality is "the ideal self, an integrate of images which portrays the person at his future best."[55]

The basic importance of self-orientation is indicated by Parsons[56] when he states:

> Each actor has a system of relations-to-objects; this is called his system of orientation. The objects may be

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*See page 1 of this monograph.

> goal objects, resources, means, conditions, obstacles, and symbols. They may become cathected (wanted or not wanted), and they may have significances attached to them (that is, they may mean different things to different people). Objects by the significances and cathexes attached to them, become organized into the actor's system of orientation.

Our historical study of the community shows it to have deep roots as a definite entity, and this heritage is the material out of which the people create the image of themselves as good folk, independent, courageous, and loyal fighters for ideals and values, an image which is symbolized by their community and which becomes an ego extension and the touchstone of their self-orientation.

In Hofmoen, a long series of events, the loss of an important source of employment, the discontinuance of the railroad, the failure to build modern roads, and loss of population, especially the young people, present threats to the community. Its proximity to Oslo and the necessity for many to leave the community make the people aware of a richer and fuller style of life, and plainly illuminate the inadequacy of the economic base to support the requirements of modern expectations for all its people. The citizen of small towns and rural areas are thus aware that their world is not calling the tune any more; on every hand are evidences of decline in important functions, power, and importance.

Our interviews and scale analyses show that the people of Hofmoen are fearful of what the urbanized society will do to them and that they are alienated from that society. They apparently perceive the mass society as a threat to their value systems and their self-esteem, and their self-orientation is disrupted because old familiar landmarks of security are tottering. The rural dweller may be frustrated and alienated because he feels the tug of forces which he does not understand, over which he has little or no control, and which threaten the very existence of his community and way of life.

He fights centralization which will take his school away because this event is the present and real surrogate of all visible and invisible threats to his security system and basic personality needs.

When certain events are seen as threats to the group, and therefore to vital needs of the personality, insecurity and fear are created; there is an increase of tension; and the stimulation of aggressive tendencies produces the highly emotional atmosphere that often surrounds school reorganization conflicts.

Administrators charged with school redistricting are often frustrated by what they consider to be irrational and emotional opposition which is seemingly impervious to their more cogent and rational arguments and definitive demonstrations. These administrators may not be aware that the more effective their demonstrations of the inadequacy of the old order and the desirability of the new, the more threatening it is to the security and personality needs of the people affected.

Ideological Components

We have seen that in both the United States and Norway there is a tradition of anti-urbanism strongly embedded in the culture, the literature, philosophy, and political history of these countries.

Survey, interviews, and results of the scale analysis show that this ideology is held by a preponderant portion of the people of Hofmoen, as can be seen from Table XII where positive reaction to items favorable to rural areas are held by from 81 to 92 per cent of the sample; positive reactions to urban characteristics were held by only three to five per cent of the respondents except for responses to item 94. When this ideology is tested with reference to specific events, the results are even more impressive, as indicated by responses to indirect items of the School Localism Scale (Table XIV).

The small town man and rural dweller has acquired his ideas in the socialization process, and though his bias may, for the most part remain latent, it is brought to full affective efficiency by conditions brought about by modern trends in economics and political organization, and the present community crises.

Human group life cannot be sustained without sets of ideas and norms and the conviction that they are true and meaningful with relation to reality. When a situation arises where the comparatively static values of a social system are threatened by or conflict with the requirements and realities of a more dynamic and differently constituted social structure, an ideology will develop to reconcile discrepancies between the condition described by the values and the conditions created by the evolving structure. We can now relate the concepts personality, ideology, social structure, and social change by the statement: ideology functions as a personality integration process which enables its adherents to come to terms with constant or slowly changing values and realities brought about by rapidly changing conditions and structural characteristics, such as the enlargement of societal scale, the locus of social interaction, and ameliorative enterprises.

The cultural heritage and personality needs arising in a period of rapid social change seem in this case to combine to produce what might be called "the rural-perfectability urban-decadence ideology which becomes an important factor in the conflict and an impediment for the acceptance of anything that is perceived or imagined to be connected to or initiated by any person or group which represents the urbanized sector of society." These ideas and fears were found by Vidich and Bensman in Springdale, N.Y.[31] Jenson quotes statements from residents of Wisconsin which illustrate this point: "I don't want to send my kids to town. They learn a lot of devilment there that we do not have here." Leaders also voiced fears of being outvoted by the urban populations.[57]

The potential for conflict is greatly augmented when another group, such as the urbanized educational officials and experts with a rationalization-efficiency ideology and different conceptions of reality, becomes vitally involved in the same event. The differences in ideology and conceptions of reality between the leaders of Hofmoen and those of the educational bureaucracy is clear and marked, as indicated by their utterances in the acrimonious debates, and by the different scores these groups obtained on the Ruralism Scale and School Localism scale, as seen in Table XVI.

Social Structural Aspects

Personality needs make kinship groups, associations, and institutions of the primary community more precious in a crisis situation because it is in and through these groups that goals are achieved, values sustained, and personality needs fulfilled.

In the study of an Ohio town where severe conflict resulted when redistricting was attempted, the investigator concluded that the basic difficulty seemed to be that officials attempted to force a redistricting which ignored the social ties that existed among the residents of three small villages.[58]

Social organizations develop, are created, or latent ones activated when enough persons feel the necessity to join forces in order to achieve a goal or to defend an ideology in the competitive arena of the market-place of ideas. Organizations thus become the instrumentalities through which ideas become effective. The social structure of Hofmoen, therefore, faithfully reflects the central goals and values of the community in the intricate, tight, and warm web of structured social relations found in kinship and neighborhood groups and in associations devoted to religion, sports, community and national welfare, and various cultural and patriotic activities.

Controversy requires that the groups involved be conscious of their identity as distinct groups, and that the actors in a conflict situation feel themselves involved in the fate of the community and committed to it. We demonstrated involvement and commitment to Hofmoen by study of attitudes, kinship and associational groupings, and the participation of persons in this organizational structure.

On the other hand, there was a remarkable absence of cleavage as related to this issue within the primary community of Hofmoen, probably because of the homogeneity of cultural backgrounds, the small class differentiation, the common religion, and similar economic interests. Another event might bring out cleavages not apparent in this particular crisis.

From a structural point of view, the conflict is a case of social systems in collision. Hofmoen krets is the vital social system within which the people of Hofmoen meet their personality security needs, within which they achieve self-esteem and self-orientation; it is the system of locality-relevant functions that caters to their daily needs and which makes life meaningful and enjoyable. For the majority of the kommune skolestyre, the meaningful system is Nordre Høland or another primary community for the decision-making bureaucrats, it is the larger scale association of the Department of Church and Education of the Norwegian national state.

While all these social systems seek the same general abstract goal, i.e., "good schools," it is clear from our research that each group has different conceptions of reality and define ways and means differently. The ideological differences may be traced to differential socialization and experience, and are probably sustained by diverse requirements of the social systems which have been forced into a specialized action system by the necessity of creating schools for a modern, large-scale, industrialized society. Hofmoen contributes little to the personality needs of either the national educational bureaucrats or the majority of the members of the kommune school board members; the latter two systems have different vital reference groups which contribute to their self-esteem and self-orientation. But for the members of the krets, the integrity of Hofmoen is vital because it is the mirror of their self-image and the touchstone of their self-orientation.

For the krets these are matters of deeply felt sentiments: for the others in the action system the sentiments attached to Hofmoen have little or no significance except as roadblocks to the achievement of an economical and efficient school plant. The education officials and bureaucrats are for centralization because, from the point of view of their position and functional role in a bureaucratic system, their task is the creation of schools adequate for an urbanized industrial society. They must perform their bureaucratic role, which is to achieve this task rationally, economically, and efficiently, undeterred by disfunctional sentiments.

In this contest of social systems with different goals, it is clear from our analysis of the authority structure that the primary system, the krets, was bound to lose. All the levers of power were held by the bureaucratic system, and it is difficult to see how the members of the krets would have joined battle unless they were blinded to their powerlessness by the overwhelming necessity to defend Hofmoen and its institutions and thereby their own security system.

In any contest between a small local community and a large-scale association in a modern state, the large-scale association has some decided advantages. The primary community is fixed in space, and limited in resources with an amorphous organization and authority structure; the large-scale association has greater resources, distributed in many strong points, upon which it can draw. It possesses a system of authority and circulation which enables it to direct energy and power to points of greatest need. If it should be defeated in one place, the integrity of the large-scale association need not be seriously affected because only a small part of it was involved. Events at Hofmoen may foreshadow things to come in the United States as state and federal governments become even more involved in what are now primarily locally controlled educational action systems.

Historical Factors

The current conflict is an event derived from past events. It is necessary to know the historical antecedents if one is to gauge the conflict potentials in a community and understand the nature of the controversy; the present actions of people are to an important extent motivated by their cultural heritage as well as the more recent sequence of events.

The commitment of the people to the town of Hofmoen and its institutions and their strong sense of belonging to it becomes understandable when it is realized that some of the farms have been worked since the 14th century by the same families. The historical stone markers found along the roads marking the places of old battles with the Swedish invaders remind the current generation that their ancestors fought in these battles to preserve the community.

In many other ways the history and its elaboration give meaning and significance to the physical features of houses, land, rivers, hills, and forests. The more recent history of the community center and meeting house, which were built by the people themselves, is a constant reminder of their solidarity and ability to act together to achieve a goal, and strangers should be aware of these as clues to the solidarity that exists here and the reaction that a threat to it might evoke.

Furthermore, their consciousness of being different from urban people has a special connotation within Norwegian society in the historical conflict between "by" and "bygd,"* between Bondesamfunnet** and the culture and way of life of the educated sophisticated classes of state functionaries, and the commercial and professional classes of the cities. The evidence of this kultur kampf is spread everywhere in the history of politics and political institutions, of religion, in the literature of the country, and in the language controversy still very much alive in Norway.

These are factors that prepare the social atmsophere and make it possible for an event to trigger an explosive conflict. The affective and fetishistic function of territoriality and the meaning that the physical habitat has for those who live in it derives from past events as well as from the daily experiences and needs of the present.

Ecological Aspects

For people to be stimulated to conflict, they must feel involved, and involvement is, to a certain extent, the function of the settlement pattern - the distribution of people and their institutions in space with relation to each other, to geographical features, and to similar and larger community systems.

Just as man can modify but never escape the biotic community of sustenance relations, so he can alter, but never avoid the limitations of space-time-cost factors. Physical proximity is vital for the maintenance of a community system, and it is obvious that there can be no controversy if people do not meet and do not care what happens in and to the community. Proximity is essential to the creation of common interests which permit a focusing on mutual problems, and cooperative action and spatial proximity facilitates maintenance of value systems by continuous reinforcement in social participation which leads to feelings of belonging and a community of fate.

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*City and village

**Society of free farmers and countryfolk

Membership in a community by virtue of geographical location gives a person a reference group which differs from a bureaucratic or interest group to which he may also belong. Such a situation is meaningful for conflict in terms of interaction patterns and the absence or presence of cross-pressures which might minimize or exaggerate the controversy. We saw how two of the chief actors in this contest who were residents of Hofmoen and who started out as vociferously aggressive champions of the town were quickly neutralized and silenced by their concurrent membership in the bureaucratic and political structure of the national state. The conflict between Hofmoen and the authorities representing the larger community escalated because relative physical isolation inhibited the people of Hofmoen and other communities from having common organizational memberships. Hofmoen's relative isolation from the rest of Nordre Holand set them somewhat apart, and made boundary maintenance of the sub-system quite easy. In no small measure the solidarity of Hofmoen and the people's stubborn fight against the rest of the community and the national bureaucracy may be traced to these aspects of spatial arrangements.

The necessity for people to seek work elsewhere because of the inadequacy of the economic base to support the requirements of modern expectations for all its people, especially the youth, the loss of important sources of employment, the discontinuance of the railroad, and the inaction with regard to modern road construction -- all contributed to insecurity and raised questions concerning the future of the community.

Hofmoen's proximity to Oslo made people aware of a richer style of life and drew people out of the area for work, shopping, and permanent residence, thus further weakening solidarity and faith in the future.

Space or territoriality is not limited to its instrumental functions because through its fetishistic qualities an area may become a source of important values _per se_. The associative process by which emotion-laden sentiments and values become linked to a spatial area is, as Walter Firey points out, but a special case of the more general rule that meanings necessarily fix upon symbols for communication between actors in a social system. Territory may in this way be endowed with symbolic qualities which stand for a variegated pattern of values the nucleus for a constellation of emotions and sentiments which become dynamic factors in motivation for social action.

The importance of this psycho-ecological factor in community conflict has been repeatedly illustrated by the American material. Blikre found that pride in their own district was an impediment to reorganization in North Dakota;[21] as did Edgar in Massachusetts,[52] and Kreitlow in Wisconsin.[12,20]

When an area having sentiments significant to persons and groups is threatened by rival social systems, such as another community, or different systems, such as the bureaucracy of the national state, the threat stimulates aggression and resistance in the endangered community.

It seems clear that ecological factors contributed heavily to the associative interaction of the primary community and its extraordinary solidarity, but ecological components also contributed to dissociative tendencies relative to other social systems and to the creation of an atmosphere of insecurity and tension within which social conflict could develop and flourish.

Conflict Factor Clues

It would seem that community tension depends on a certain mixture of three principal components: solidarity of and commitment to the community, security threats, and institutional discontinuities. We shall summarize below some of the clues by which the presence of these community conflict factors may be detected.

Community Solidarity and Commitment

Coleman points out the obvious but important fact that there are no controversies when there is nothing important enought to quarrel about. Controversy requires involvement and commitment to the community. Thus, paradoxically the presence of conflict is a measure of commitment to the community.[59] It is probable that solidarity and commitment will be present if the community has fairly well-defined physical boundaries, if it is relatively isolated, and if its territory has acquired fetishistic qualities. Its solidarity will be greater if it has a long historical heritage still evident in the ceremonies and action patterns of its inhabitants. Commitment and solidarity is revealed by the presence of results of cooperative action undertaken at personal sacrifice in the interest of the community, such as in this case the building of a community center and a religious meeting house. Solidarity is present if kinship ties are widespread, and neighboring and associational life strong; and where there are no serious class, racial, ethnic, religious, or ideological cleavages one should expect a high degree of community solidarity.

Security Threats

Threats to the individual's security system involving self-esteem and self orientation will probably occur if the community's economic base is marginal, if there is rivalry between neighboring communities, if invidious comparison together with relative deprivation is present, and if the population is declining, especially as a result of outmigration of the young people. Tension will be heightened by losses of economic and social functions and vital institutions such as churches and schools. Discontinuance of railroads, inadequate roads, and poor road maintenance may be interpreted as threats to the community. Where a rural-perfectability-urban decadence ideology and a localism belief system prevail, the large, urbanized mass society may present a real threat to the inhabitants of small towns and rural areas, especially if an anti-urban ideology is part of the cultural heritage.

Institutional Discontinuities

Institutions are organized and systematic ways of meeting basic societal needs arising in a crescive developmental process as a response to environmental situations. As conditions within which societies function are altered, organizational and functional changes bring discontinuities in institutional relations. New combinations of social systems may arise as specialized action systems to meet needs presented by the new situation. But these systems retain old goals, for these ends are functional in terms of systemic and personality needs; however, the goals of different systems may be incompatible with each other and dysfunctional for the emerging special action system.

The conflict potential is most likely to arise in periods of rapid social change because institutions, ways, and norms are internalized as parts of the values, habits, and personality needs of the people whom they serve, and are therefore highly resistant to change. One should be alert, then, to the rate of change and the institutional discontinuities that might arise therefrom.

Neither one of these factors by itself will produce conflict, but when they exist to a certain degree within a time-space situational context, as they did at Hofmoen, the mixture may be socially explosive.

An educator, after an exhaustive study of factors related to successful and unsuccessful school district reorganization, concluded that the complexities are very great.[60] The educator looks at this complexity through lenses ground to focus on and to see practices and experiences that can be used to solve his day-to-day pressing problems, and produce reforms in his educational system. His primary purpose is not to seek generalizations, and he may therefore miss certain fundamental factors or, seeing them, fail to understand their complete significance.

We have sought in this study to sensitize educators and administrators to the relevance and meaning of certain ecological, psychological, cultural, and social structural factors for school redistricting in an era of rapid urbanization. We hoped thereby to stimulate awareness of the functional interdependence of a comprehensive array of variables which should enhance, if we have been successful, the ability to understand the particular event of community conflict within the multidimensional developmental complex phenomenon of social systems in collision. Only through such understanding can the educator and administrator take appropriate action to minimize tension and mitigate the more serious effects of this type of community conflict on the community, the school, and the educational process.

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APPENDIX A

ENGLISH SCHEDULE

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HOFMOEN 1963

General Introduction by Interviewer

Good Day. My name is ___________. Are you the head of the house? I am from the Institute for Social Research in Oslo, and represent a Norwegian-American professor, Jonassen, who is interested in studying rural life in Norway for the purpose of comparing it with American community life. We would like to find out, for example, what people think about different things which may be of importance in this area. Rural communities have probably become more dependent on governmental bureaus, cities and other areas than before, and these are the kinds of things that we want to ask about.

(We have selected some persons in such a way that they should as a group give a true picture of the community. You have by chance been selected to be among those we want to question, but we hope that all who have been chosen will answer the questions. It is, of course, up to you if you *want* to answer, but most of those we have questioned have not objected. May we call your attention to the fact that there are no "right" answers to the questions; it is *your* opinions we want to know about.)

This is a scientific investigation. The Institute for Social Research, which is backing the study is a completely independent institution not connected with the government or any administrative agency. Only we who work on the investigation will see the answers of each person. Others will see only the completed statistics.

I hope it is convenient for me to ask the questions now; if not. I can come back later. It should not take longer than about one hour.

Institute for Social Research
Munthesgate 31, Oslo

1. Name:________________________ Km. from Hofmoen Center:________

2. What is your main occupation:__________ 3. Other occupation:________

4. Have you done any other work this year?________________________

5. (Farmer, Tenant Farmer: Size of farm? Cultivated:______ Forest:______

(Do you own tractor or other farm machinery?)

6. Your marital status:________________________________

Married	single	divorced	widow (widower)
1.	2.	3.	4.

7. Occupation of Spouse:________________________________

8. Where did she (he) grow up:____________________________

9. Do you have children? ____ 10. What ages are they? ____________

11. Do you have children in the little school at Hofmoen now? __________

12. Do you have children in the consolidated school at Loken or Bjorkelangen?______

13. Did you have children in Hofmoen School at the time of consolidation?________

14. Have you yourself gone to school at Hofmoen? 1. Yes______ 2. No ________

15. Have any others in your family attended school at Hofmoen? 1. Yes____ 2. No____

16. Did you go to a: (1) 7 division school or (2) public school with few class divisions

17. Have you had any education beyond elementary school? _____ If so, what? __________

____

18. Do you have a car? 1. Yes____ 2. No ____

19. Do you have a telephone? 1. Yes ____ 2. No ____

20. Do you have a radio? 1. Yes ____ 2. No. ____

21. Do you have television? 1. Yes ____ 2. No ____

22. What is your age (approx.)?______ 23. Sex? 1. Man _____ 2. Woman _____

23. How long have you lived at Hofmoen? ____________________

24. If you have lived other places, where? ____________________
(Time and place)

25. Have you travelled abroad? 1. Yes ____ 2. No ____

26. Where did you grow up? ______________________________

27. Is this a big city (the 5 largest)? ____
or a small city _____
or a built-up area in the country ____
or scattered farms in the country ____

I. SERVICE PATTERN

We should like to know a little about your relationship to the Hofmoen community.

First, some questions concerning where you go to get various things.

Aaserud Moe Eriksen

28. Where did you last buy groceries? ______________

(Løken at Hofmoen)

29. Where did you last buy a suit (dress)? ______________

30. Where did you last buy furniture? ______________

31. Do you agree that people who live at Hofmoen should support the local business men by shopping there -- even if the selection should be less and the prices higher?

Agree completely: __ Agree with some reservations: __ Don't know __ Entirely disagree _
1 2 3 4

32. Where did you last go to a doctor? ______________

33. If you go to the movies, where did you go the last time? ______________

34. Where did you last go to a party or some large affair? ______________

35. Where did you last attend a religious meeting? ______________

36. When you go to a larger place than Hofmoen where do you usually go?

Løken ____, Askim ____, Mysen ____, Lillestrøm ____,
Oslo ____, Elsewhere __________

37. How often do you leave Hofmoen for some purpose or other?

1. Once a week or more often. __________
2. Two or three times a month. __________
3. Once a month or several times a year. __________
4. Once a year or less. __________

38. About how often do you go to Oslo?

1. Once a week or more often: ________
2. Two or three times a month: ________
3. Once a month or several times a year: ________
4. Once a year or less: ________

39. What is usually the most important reason for going to the city?

____

(Shop - Visit relatives)

40. Where do you work? ________ 40 a. Your husband (wife)? ________

41. Which newspaper do you subscribe to or do you usually read?

____

____

____

II. ORGANIZATIONS

42. Then we have some questions about organizations in Hofmoen. Which clubs, voluntary organizations or associations do you know of?

____

____

____

____

____

43. Which of these organizations do you think are important in getting things done which have significance for the people of Hofmoen?

____

____

44. How do people get to be members of these clubs or organizations?

45. To which of these organizations do you belong?

NAME (1)	Officer (2)	Pay dues (3)	Go to meetings (4)	Where does it meet? (5)

46. Can you name some organizations that work together?

____

47. Can you name some organizations that are opposed to each other?

____

48. Do you think there are too many or too few clubs and organizations in Hofmoen? (Explain)____________________________

49. Are any of the clubs or organizations more exclusive than others?________

50. There are naturally in every community some problems to be solved. What would you say are the most important problems, questions, conflicts which have concerned Hofmoen in the last year?

The most important ________________________________

The next in importance______________________________

51. Did you have anything to do with the most important? (If not mentioned, ask about school consolidation fight)

1. Did you attend meetings? ______
2. Did you sign the strike threat? _____
3. Did you help circulate the petition? _____
4. Other ____________________________

52. How did you get involved?

1. Word of mouth ____ 2. Telephone ____ 3. Newspaper ____
4. At meetings ____ 5. Did you volunteer? ____ 6. Other ___________

53. Did you discuss the school strife in the clubs and organizations you are a member of? 1.Yes ____ 2.No ____

54. Did you get others to join in the action? 1. Yes ____ 2. No.___

55. Which persons or organizations have worked (or will work) on this problem?

____

____

____

56. How did these organizations get people to act with them?

____

57. Can you add anything else about your own relationship to the school consolidation question in this community? ______________________

____

58. Were you for or against the action of Hofmoen district? 1. For ____ 2. Against _

59. Do you think that Hofmoen's interests were adequately protected by:

59. (a) the township (kommune) 1. Yes ___ 2. No ___ 3. Don't know ___

60. (b) the county (fylke) 1. Yes ____ 2. No ____ 3. Don't know ___

61. (c) the Parliament, government or department? 1. Yes ___ 2. No ___ 3. Don't know_

III. LEADERSHIP

62. Then we would like to know something about the persons who have most influence in the town.

Let us suppose that you are responsible for some undertaking that is important for the whole community. To which persons would you go for advice and help so things would go smoothly and successfully? Taking everything into consideration, who in the community would be most effective to achieve a decision that most would accept?

63. Is there anyone in Hofmoen who is particularly influential?

1. Yes ___ 2. No ___ If "Yes" who? ______________________________

IV. INTERACTION PATTERN - SOLIDARITY

64. Where do those with whom you associate most live? (friends, kinfolk or neighbors) 1. Hofmoen ___ 2. Elsewhere in the township ___

3. Elsewhere in the county ___ 4. Other places ____

65. How far is it to those with whom you associate most? ______________Km.

66. Do you have any relatives in Hofmoen? 1. Yes ___ 2. No ___ How many?______

67. With whom do you associate most? 1. Relatives ___ 2. Neighbors ___

3. People from your job ___ 4. Other friends _____

Which occasions are celebrated by the people of Hofmoen, which are the most important celebrations during the year? (for example 17 May, 1 May, St. Hans, Christmas, Anniverseries, or other affairs)

68 CELEBRATION 69. HOW IS IT CELEBRATED? WHERE?

____

____

____

____

70. Are there any traditions or customs that you feel are unique for Hofmoen?

____

71. Do you feel that people from Hofmoen are set apart in any way from people from other places in Nordre Høyland? (Explain)

____

72. Do the people of Hofmoen cooperate with those of nearby communities for their mutual benefit?

73. We should like to have an expression of your feeling about Hofmoen. With which of the following statements do you agree?

1. For me Hofmoen is the best place to live.
2. Not everything is perfect here, but all in all Hofmoen is a good place in which to live.
3. Hofmoen is a poor place in which to live.
4. I can't get away from here soon enough.

74. Are there any families or groups in Hofmoen who think they are better than others or are thought to be better than others?

1. Yes: ___ 2. No: ___ If yes, which?___________________________

75. Are there groups or factions in the community which seem to disagree or can't get along?

1. Yes: ___ 2. No: ___

76. If "yes", explain. ___________________________

____

77. How are newcomers received by the local people?

____

78. Many people do not vote at one or another election. How about you? Did you vote in the last township or parliamentary election? (We are not asking you what party you belong to)

Voted in both	Only in Parliamentary	Only in Kommune	Voted in neither	Don't remember No answer
1	2	3	4	5

79. Was there a special reason why you did not vote?

80. Are you a member of any political party?

1. Yes: ___ 2. No: ___ 3.:Pay dues regularly: ___ 4.:Attended nomination meetings: ___ 5.:Officer of party

81. Do you remember the names of the representatives elected to Parliament from Akershus?

Halvard Lange
Liv Tomter
Hartvig Svendsen
Thor Fossum
Kristian Asdahl
John Lyng
Hans Borgen

82. Do you remember the names of the people from Hofmoen who are in the township government?

Ordfører Engebretsen
Henrik Frogner
Gunnar Aaserud
Erling Eriksen
Kristian Høgseth
Thoralv Olberg

83. Do you remember the names of those who are on the Board of Education of Nordre Høland?

Olav Melby
Kristiansen
Olberg
Aaserud
Frogner
Nadden
Aamoth

(Impressions of the persons and interview situation)

84. Estimate of status of home: 1. ____________ (high) 2. ____________ 3. ____________ (low)

Date: ______________________________ Intefviewer: ______________________________

A

Answers should be placed in the envelope supplied

STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL

Opinion A

Here are some statements on which we would like your opinion. Please mark the statement which most nearly corresponds to your opinion -- either "strongly agree," "agree," "don't know," "disagree" or "strongly disagree."

84. As far as world affairs are concerned, most of us are the victims of forces we can neither understand nor control.
Strongly agree   Agree   Don't know   Disagree   Strongly disagree

85. By taking part in political and social affairs people can influence world events.
Strongly agree   Agree   Don't know   Agree   Strongly disagree

86. Most of the time I can't understand why politicians behave the way they do.
Strongly agree   Agree   Don't know   Disagree   Strongly disagree

87. The local community should have the right to manage its own affairs and make its own decisions.
Strongly agree   Agree   Don't know   Disagree   Strongly disagree

88. Those who are in official positions in the administration of this area always do their best for the local people.
Strongly agree   Agree   Don't know   Disagree   Strongly disagree

89. Those who are in top administrative positions have little practical knowledge of the school situations in the local districts.
Strongly agree   Agree   Don't know   Disagree   Strongly disagree

90. Everything considered, I think it is very desirable for children to grow up in the city.
Strongly agree   Agree   Don't know   Disagree   Strongly disagree

91. Because cities tend to destroy many basic and important values, small towns should be strengthened in order to preserve our most precious values and traditions.
Strongly agree   Agree   Don't know   Disagree   Strongly disagree

92. Almost all that is new and interesting originates in large cities.
Strongly agree Agree Don't know Disagree Strongly disagree

93. If I were free to choose my place of residence, there is no doubt but that I would prefer the small town.
Strongly agree Agree Don't know Disagree Strongly disagree

94. Most of the problems of our society originate in the big cities.
Strongly agree Agree Don't know Disagree Strongly disagree

95. The school in Hofmoen is an important community center and meeting place for the community.
Strongly agree Agree Don't know Disagree Strongly disagree

96. Consolidation of the schools takes the children from the community, people follow, and soon the small community is deserted.
Strongly agree Agree Don't know Disagree Strongly disagree

97. Consolidation of schools gives the students better chances to have friends of their own age.
Strongly agree Agree Don't know Disagree Strongly disagree

98. Centralization of schools is undesirable because it tends to break the vital bonds between home and school and school and community.
Strongly agree Agree Don't know Disagree Strongly disagree

99. Students from small rural schools are just as advanced as students from the large town and city schools.
Strongly agree Agree Don't know Disagree Strongly disagree

100. It is just as economical to build and operate small rural schools as it is to build and operate large consolidated schools.
Strongly agree Agree Don't know Disagree Strongly disagree

101. Because of poor schoolhouses and a lack of qualified teachers the small rural schools are not able to prepare children for life in the modern society.

Strongly agree   Agree   Don't know   Disagree   Strongly disagree

102. The small rural school is the best environment for creation of character and personality.

Strongly agree   Agree   Don't know   Disagree   Strongly disagree

103. Even if consolidated schools are more effective in many ways, I prefer the small schools. The small schools have many desirable qualities which are more important than the advantages of large central schools.

Strongly agree   Agree   Don't know   Disagree   Strongly disagree

104. Agitation about school consolidation in this town has definitely shown that parents in no way have the influence and power I thought they had.

Strongly agree   Agree   Don't know   Disagree   Strongly disagree

105. The strife about school consolidation has created a greater feeling of solidarity among the people of Hofmoen than there ever was.

Strongly agree   Agree   Don't know   Disagree   Strongly disagree

106. There does not seem to have been any seriously detrimental results from combining the upper grades of Hofmoen's school with the Løken school and I think things are going to work out right after all.

Strongly agree   Agree   Don't know   Disagree   Strongly disagree

107. Is there anything else you would like to add about the school question?

D

Attitudes B

Finally we have some questions which should be answered in the following manner: Draw a circle around "A" if you agree, a circle around "D" if you disagree, and one around the "?" if you are not sure or if you have no opinion.

108. There is little use in writing to public officials because often they are not really interested in the problems of the average man..........A ? D

109. Political candidates are usually controlled by political machines.....A ? D

110. The general public is not qualified to vote on today's complex issues.A ? D

111. Politically elected representatives are usually pawns in the hands of special interests...A ? D

112. This world is run by the few people in power, and there is not much the little guy can do about it......................................A ? D

113. It has been my experience that what's going to happen will happen.....A ? D

114. The "welfare state" tends to destroy individual initiative............A ? D

115. Obedience and respect for authority are the most important verities children should learn..A ? D

116. College education does more to break down values than to build up ideals...A ? D

117. I feel the church is a very important agency for uplift in the world...A ? D

118. I regard the church as a harmful institution breeding narrow-mindedness, fanaticism and intolerance..................................A ? D

119. I feel I need to believe in some sort of religious faith or philosophy...A ? D

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APPENDIX B

NORWEGIAN SCHEDULE

HOFMOEN 1963.

Goddag. Mitt navn er N.N. Er det De som styrer i huset her? Jeg kommer fra Institutt for Samfunnsforskning i Oslo, fra en norsk-amerikansk professor Jonassen som er interessert i å studere bygdeliv i Norge, og å sammenlikne hvordan folk lever i Amerika og i Norge. Vi ville gjerne vite litt om hva folk tenker og mener om forskjellige ting som kan være viktige her i kretsen og i bygda. Bygdene er kanskje blitt mer avhengige av byene, statsadministrasjonen og andre distrikter enn før, det er blant annet slike ting vi ville stille noen spørsmål om. De har kanskje lest om dette i lokalavisen?
(Vi har valgt ut en del personer på en slik måte at de tilsammen skulle gi et riktig bilde av bygda. I og for seg er det tilfeldig at De er kommet med blant de vi ville spørre; men vi håper jo at de vi har valgt, virkelig svarer. Det er naturligvis frivillig om De vil svare, men de fleste vi har spurt hittil har ikke hatt noe imot det. Vi bør kanskje også gjøre oppmerksom på at vi sitter ikke inne med ferdige og riktige svar på spørsmålene, det er Deres oppfatning vi ville vite litt om.)

Hele denne undersøkelsen er rent vitenskapelig. Institutt for Samfunnsforskning, som står bak undersøkelsen, er en helt frittstående institusjon, uavhengig av både stat og administrasjon. Det er ingen andre enn vi som arbeider med undersøkelsen som får se svarene til hver enkelt. Andre folk vil bare få se den ferdige statistikken, og se at så mange svarte slik, og så mange slik.
Jeg håper det kan passe å stille spørsmålene nå, hvis ikke kan jeg komme tilbake senere. Det hele skulle ta omtrent en time.

Institutt for Samfunnsforskning
Munthesgate 31, Oslo

1. Navn: ______________________________ Km. fra Hofmoen Senter:________

2. Hva er Deres yrke:__________________ 3. Biyrke:____________________

4. (Har De hatt noe annet yrke de siste to år?__________________________

5. (Småbrukere, gårdbrukere: Størrelsen på bruket? Innmark:__Utmark:___

(Eier De traktor eller andre landbruksmaskiner?)

6. Deres ekteskapelige stilling: ____________________________________

(gift, ugift, skilt, enke(mann)

1. 2. 3. 4.

7. Ektefellens yrke:____

8. Hvor er hun (han)vokst opp:_____________________________________

9. Har De barn?_____ 10. Hvilken alder har de:__________________________

11. Har De barn i småskolen på Hofmoen nå:_____________________________

12. Har De barn i sentralskolen på Løken eller på Bjørkelangen:_________

13. Hadde De barn i skolen på Hofmoen da sammenslåingen ble gjennomført:_

14. Har De selv gått på skolen på Hofmoen? 1.Ja:___ 2. Nei:___

15. Har noen andre i Deres familie gått på skole på Hofmoen? 1.Ja:__2.Nei

16. Gikk De på:(1)7-delt eller (2)fådelt folkeskole?____________________

17. Har De hatt noen skolegang, kursvirksomhet eller annen utdannelse
etter folkeskolen?____

18. Har De bil? 1.Ja:___ 2.Nei:___

19. Har De telefon? 1.Ja:___ 2.Nei:___

20. Har De radio? 1.Ja:___ 2.Nei:___

21. Har De fjernsyn? 1.Ja:___ 2.Nei:___

22. Deres alder (ca):__________________ 23.(Kjønn: 1.Mann:__ 2.Kvinne:__)

23. Hvor lenge har De bodd i Hofmoen?_______________________________

24. (Ev. Hvor lenge har De levd andre steder:__________________________

(Tid og sted)

25. Har De reist i utlandet? 1.Ja:______________ 2.Nei:________

26. Hvor er De vokst opp?_______________________________________

27. Er det en storby, (de 5 største)_____

eller en småby____

eller tettbygd strøk på landet____

eller spredtbygd strøk (landsbygd) ____

I SERVICE PATTERN

Vi ville gjerne vite litt om Deres tilknytning til Hofmoen krets. Først noen spørsmål om hvor De går når De har ærender av forskjellig slag.

28.Hvor kjøpte De siste gang kolonialvarer? ____________

Åserud	Moe	Eriksen

(Løken, en av kjøp. i Hofmoen)

29.Hvor kjøpte De sist dress (kjole)?____________

30.Hvor kjøpte De siste gang møbler? ____________

31.Er De enig i at folk som bor i Hofmoen bør støtte kjøpmennene her på stedet ved å handle her når de kan - selv om utvalget kan være mindre her, og prisene kanskje litt høyere enn andre steder?

Helt enig:__ Enig med forbehold:__ Vet ikke: __ Ikke enig: __
1. 2. 3. 4.

32.Hvor var De siste gang hos doktor?____________

33.Hvis De går på kono, hvor gikk De siste gang på kino?____________

34.Hvor var De siste gang De var i selskap eller tilstede ved en større sammenkomst?____________

35.Hvor var De siste gang De var tilstede på en religiøs sammenkomst?

____

(kirken i Løken - bedehuset i Hofmoen)

36.Når De må til et større sentrum enn Hofmoen, reiser De da vanligvis til Løken:__, til Askim:__, til Mysen:__, til Lillestrøm:__, til Oslo:__, eller reiser De andre steder:__?

37.Omtrent hvor ofte reiser De ut av Hofmoen for et eller annet ærend?

1. En gang i uka eller oftere:__
2. To eller tre ganger i måneden:__
3. En gang i måneden eller noen ganger i løpet av året:__
4. En gang i året eller enda sjeldnere:__

38. Omtrent hvor ofte er De i Oslo?

1. En gang i uka eller oftere:__
2. To eller tre ganger i måneden:__
3. En gang i måneden eller noen ganger i løpet av året:__
4. En gang i året eller sjeldnere:__

39. Hva er stort sett den viktigste grunn for å reise til byen?

(Handle - Besøke slekt)

40. Hvor arbeider De?______________ 41. Deres mann?______________
(kone)

41. Hvilke aviser, blad eller tidsskrifter holder De (dere) eller leser dere til varlig?

II ORGANIZATIONS

42. Så har vi noen spørsmål om organisasjoner i Hofmoen. Hvilke foreninger og organisasjoner kjenner De til her?

43. Hvilke av disse foreninger eller organisasjoner mener De har noe å si når det gjelder å få igang tiltak som har betydning for folk her i Hofmoen?

44. Hvem er det som blir medlemmer av disse foreningene?

45. Hvilke foreninger eller organisasjoner er De medlem av?

NAVN	DELTAGELSE			
1	Er De i styret (2)	Betaler De kontigent (3)	Går De på møter (4)	Hvor er møtestedet (5)

46. Kan De nevne noen organisasjoner som samarbeider med hverandre?

47. Kan De nevne noen organisasjoner som står i motsetningsforhold til hverandre?

48. Mener De at det er for mange, eller for få, foreninger og organisasjoner her i Hofmoen?(Forklar)

49. Er det noen forening eller organisasjon som er "finere" eller mer "eksklusiv" enn andre?

50. I enhver bygd er det naturligvis en rekke spørsmål som venter på å bli løst. Hva vil De si er de to viktigste oppgaver, spørsmål eller strider som har opptatt Hofmoen i det siste år?

Viktigste:________________________________

Nest viktigste:____________________________

51. Har De hatt noe å gjøre med det viktigste? (med skolestriden her i Hofmoen?)

Gikk De på motene her i kretsen?
Skrev De under på listen?
Gikk De med liste?

Annet:

52. Hvordan kom De med i det? Ble De oppfordret til å bli med gjennom

1. private samtaler:__, 2.gjennom telefon:__, 3.gjennom avis
4. eller ble De oppfordret på møter:__.5.Meldte De Dem uten noen oppfordring:__,6. eller kom De med på annen måte:__.

53. Diskuterte dere skolespørsmålet i noen forening De er med i?

1.Ja:__ 2.Nei:__

54. Fikk De med Dem andre i denne saken? 1.Ja:__ 2.Nei:__

55. **Hvilke personer og organisasjoner har arbeidet for denne oppgaven?**____

____

____

56. **Kan De si noe om hvordan disse foreningene fikk med seg folk?**

57. **Kan De si noe mer om Deres eget forhold til skolesentraliseringen i bygda?**

58. **Var De for eller mot aksjonen fra Hofmoen krets? 1.For:__ 2.Mot:__**

59. **Synes De at Hofmoens interesser alt i alt blir tilstrekkelig ivaretatt**

59. **a) av kommunen? 1.Ja: ___, 2.Nei:___, 3.Vet ikke:___**

60. **b) av fylket? 1.Ja:___, 2.Nei:___, 3.Vet ikke:___**

61. **c) av Storting, regjering og departement? 1.Ja:__, 2.Nei:__,3.Vet i**

III LEADERSHIP

62.

62. **La oss tenke oss at De var ansvarlig for gjennomførin av en eller annen oppgave som angikk hele kretsen. Hvilke personer ville De i så fall henvende Dem til for å få råd, så sakene kunne gå i orden? - Hvem er i det hele tatt best skikket her i kretsen når det gjelder å komme fram til avgjørelser som de fleste vil akseptere?**

NAVN på personer med **anseelse** (enten de bor i kretsen eller ikke)	**KJENNSKAP til vedkommende**			
	Kjenner litt. (1)	**Kjenner godt.** (2)	**Er omgangsvenn.** (3)	**Har arbeidet vedk. i komite i løpet av de siste 2 år.** (4)

63. Er det noen som har spesielt mye å si i Hofmoen?

1.Ja:___, 2.Nei:___ Ev. hvem:___

IV INTERACTION PATTERN - SOLIDARITY

64. Hvor bor de som De (dere) har mest omgang med (venner, slektninger eller naboer)? 1.I Hofmoen:___, 2.i kommunen ellers:___, 3. i fylket forøvrig:___, 4. andre steder:___

65. Hvor langt er det til de som dere har mest omgang med?___km.

66. Har De slektninger i Hofmoen? 1.Ja:___ 2.Nei:___

Hvor mange:___

67. Hvem har De mest omgang med, 1.slektninger:___, 2.naboer:___, 3.folk fra arbeidsstedet:___, 4.andre venner:___.

Hvilke begivenheter blir feiret i fellesskap her i Hofmoen, hva er de viktigste festlighetene i løpet av året? (17.mai, 1.mai, St.Hans, julefester, jubileer, andre tilstelninger)

68. Begivenhet	69.Hvor og hvordan feires den

70. Er det noen skikker eller tradisjoner som gjør at Hofmo-kretsen skiller seg ut?
(Er det mer samhold her enn i de andre kretsene?
Ev. hvorledes:___

71. Finnes det eksempler på at folk fra Hofmoen blir holdt utenfor eller satt tilside av folk fra andre deler av Nordre Høland?

72. Er det mye samarbeid om bestemte oppgaver mellom folk fra Hofmoen og folk fra distriktene omkring?

73. Vi ville gjerne ha et inntrykk av Deres mening om Hofmoen.

Hvilke av de følgende uttrykkene er De mest enig i:

1.For meg er Hofmoen det sted der det er best å leve.(Er bra her, ikke noe forbehol

2.Ikke alt er bra her, men i det store og hele er det godt å leve i Hofmoen. (Bra her, med forbehold).

3.Hofmoen er et dårlig sted å leve.

4.Jeg vil forlate Hofmoen så snart jeg kan.

74. Er det noen familier eller grupper her i Hofmoen som selv mener de er "finere" enn andre, eller som blir høyere vurdert enn andre?

1.Ja:___, 2.Nei:___, 3.Ev. hvorledes:___

75. Er det noen gruppe eller fraksjon her i bygda som er uenig og som ikke kommer ut av det med de andre?

1.Ja:___, 2.Nei:___.

76. Ev. Kan De gi eksempler og forklare hvorfor disse er blitt slik?

77. Kan De si noe om hvordan innflyttere blir mottatt her i Hofmoen?

78. Mange mennesker lar være å stemme ved et og annet valg. Hvordan var det med Dem, stemte De ved siste kommunevalg og siste stortingsvalg? Vi spør ikke om hvilket parti det måtte være.

Stemte ved begge valg	Bare ved stortingsvalget	Bare ved kommunevalget	Ikke ved noen av dem	Husker ikk Ubesvart
1.	2.	3.	4.	5

79. Ev. Var det noen spesiell grunn til at De ikke stemte?

80. Er De innmeldt medlem av noe politisk parti?

1.Ja:__, 2.Nei:__ 3. Betaler regelmessig kontigent:__, 4. Vært på nominasjonsmøter:__, 5. Verv innen partiet:__

81. Husker De navnene på de representanter som ble valgt til Stortinget fra Akershus?

Halvard Lange
Liv Tomter
Hartvig Svendsen
Thor Fossum
Kristian Asdahl
John Lyng
Hans Borgen

82. Husker De navnene på de fra Hofmoen som sitter i herredsstyret?

Ordforer Engebretsen
Henrik Frogner
Gunnar Aaserud
Erling Eriksen
Kristian Høgseth
Thoralv Olberg

83. Husker De navnene på de som sitter i skolestyret i Nordre Høland?

Olav Melby
Kristiansen
Olberg
Aaserud
Frogner
Nadden
Åmoth

(Inntrykk av personen og intervjusituasjonen:)

Hjem: 1.__________ 2.__________ 3.__________

Dato: __________ Intervjuer______________